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GREEK SHOES IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD.¹

BY ARTHUR ALEXIS BRYANT.

τίνος ἐπιστημόνως λέγεις ; ἢ σκυτῶν τομῆς ; — PLATO.

I. ΑΝΤΙΠΟΔΗΣΙΑ.

1) Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκ τεττάρων τῶν ἀναγκασιωτάτων πόλιν συγκεῖσθαι, λέγει δὲ τούτους ὑφάντην καὶ γεωργὸν καὶ σκυτοτόμον καὶ οἰκοδόμον.²

In all save the most primitive of Edens the Socratic rule above set forth holds good : — man must be clothed and fed and shod and housed, and carpenter, cobbler, farmer, and weaver will always find a place. So in Greece, though a kindlier climate enabled the inhabitants to reduce such protections to their lowest terms, we find the shoemaker briskly at work.

With his brethren of the forge, the tan-yard, the rule, and the loom, he appears again and again in our extant literature, — serving now to point the philosopher's moral, as in Plato and Aristotle, now to illustrate the orator's logic, or to receive the comic poet's abuse, — but ever spoken of in familiar terms as a daily acquaintance.

We are thus prevented from supposing, as a cursory inspection of vase-paintings might perhaps lead us to suppose, that the unshod

¹ I have tried to see what we could learn from the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries as to our subject. It is not my purpose here to discuss, except indirectly, the monumental evidence. The principal modern articles on the subject are: HERMANN, *Griech. Privatalt.*, pp. 180-184, 185-196; BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, I, pp. 267-286; IWAN VON MÜLLER, *Gr. Privatalt.* (Handbuch, Vol. IV, 1 pt. 2d ed. 2), pp. 103-104, 245, 249; BLÜMNER, *Leben u. Sitten*, I, pp. 60-67; III, pp. 158, 160; GUHL U. KONER, *Leben d. Gr. u. Röm.* (ed. 6, curav. R. Engelmann), pp. 306-309; BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler s.v. Fussbekleidung* (I, p. 574); SCHUHMACHER (III, pp. 1587-1588); SMITH, *Dict. Ant. s.vv. calceus, baucides, carbatina, cothurnus, embas, endromis, sandalium*; DAREMBERG ET SAGLIO; *Dictionnaire, s.vv. arbyle, baucides, blautae, carbatina, cothurnus, crepida, diabathrum, embas.*

² Arist. *Pol.* 4. 4. p. 1291a. 13.

foot was the rule in Hellas. The Spartans indeed, by the law of Lycurgus, enjoined this on their youth :

2) Xenophon, *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3 : ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρατύνειν, νομίζων εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολλὸν μὲν ῥῖζον ἂν ὄρθια ἐκβαίνειν, ἀσφαλέςτερον δὲ πρᾶγῃ καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδῆσαι καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ δραμεῖν θάπτον ἀνυπόδητον εἰ ἡσκηκῶς εἴη τοὺς πόδας ἢ ὑποδεδεμένον.

We read that the old Agesilaus felt this habit of his early years still strong upon him in age. So Aelian¹ :

3) Ἀγχιόλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος γέρων ἤδη ὦν ἀνυπόδητος πολλάκις καὶ ἀχίτων προΐει . . . καὶ ταῦτα ἐωθινὸς ἐν ὥρᾳ χειμερίῳ.

Plato, with his poetic sympathy for Spartan theories, reckons care for shoes among the vanities which the philosopher will lightly esteem,² and in the *Laws* taboos them for his warrior youth along with all manner of hats, as impairing the natural vigor of the god-provided coverings for head and feet :

4) Plato, *Legg.* 12. 942 D and E :

καὶ τό γε μέγιστον, τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν δύναμιν μὴ διαφθείρειν τῇ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῇ, τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολλύντας πῶλον τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν.

Socrates, as we know, in summer and winter, in city and field, trusted to these οἰκεία ὑποδήματα of his own hardy feet³ :

5) Plato, *Phaedrus* 229 A : Δεῦρ' ἐκτραπόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἴωμεν. εἴτα ὅπου ἂν δόξῃ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καθιζήσόμεθα.

Εἰς καιρὸν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνυπόδητος ὦν ἔτυχον. σὺ μὲν γὰρ δὴ αἰεί. ῥᾶστον οὖν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ ὑδάτιον βρέχουσι τοὺς πόδας ἵεναι καὶ οὐκ ἀηδές, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας.

And this he did even when ordinary mortals betook themselves to felt wrappings and leggings of sheepskin to shut out the cold,⁴ so that his friends recall with gusto his rare concessions to custom, as when, "in best bib and tucker," and with shoes on his feet, he went to dine at Agatho's.⁵ We are told that some others, too, at Athens,

¹ *Var. Hist.* 7. 13.

² *Phaedo* 64 D.

³ Cf. with the *Phaedrus* passage above Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6. 2. and Ameips. *Conn. frag.* ap. Diog. Laert. 2. 27 (Kock, I, 672. 9), where Socrates is called "the bane of shoemakers."

⁴ Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B.

⁵ Id. *ibid.* 174 A, and *infra*, 118.

men of simple habits and Spartan endurance, like Lycurgus the financier,¹ and Phocion the orator,² went habitually unshod; but the very fact that these are so cited, not to mention the other idiosyncrasies of costume and custom attributed to each, marks them as exceptions to a rule almost universal.

As few men went barefoot all the time, so there were times when most men put off their shoes. Indoors, whether at meals (6, 7) or in bed (8, 9, 10) or at the bath (11), or at exercise in gymnasium or palaestra, men never wore anything on their feet.³

6) Ar. *Vesp.* 103-104 :

εὐθὺς δ' ἀπὸ δορπηστοῦ κέκραγεν ἐμβάδας,
κάπειτ' ἐκείσ' ἐλθὼν προκαθεύδει πρῶ πάνν.

7) Eubulus, *Dolon. frag.* 30 (Kock, II, 175. 30)⁴ :

ἐγὼ κεχόρτασμαι μὲν, ἄνδρες, οὐ κακῶς,
ἀλλ' εἰμὶ πλήρης, ὥστε καὶ μόλις πάνν
ὑπεδησάμην ἅπαντα δρῶν τὰς ἐμβάδας.

8) Arist. *De. Part. Anim.* 4. 10. p. 687a. 28 :

ἀλλ' οἱ λέγοντες ὡς συνέστηκεν οὐ καλῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ χεῖριστα τῶν ζώων (ἀνυπόδητόν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶναι φασὶ καὶ γυμνὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄπλον πρὸς ἀλκὴν) οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα μίαν ἔχει βοήθειαν καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀντὶ ταύτης ἑτέραν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ὥσπερ ὑποδεδεμένον αἰεὶ καθεύδειν.

9) Ar. *Ecc.* 313-315, and 319 :

ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰκειμαι πάλαι χεζητιῶν,
τὰς ἐμβάδας ζητῶν λαβεῖν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ
καὶ θοιμάτιον· ὅτε δὴ δ' ἐκείνο ψηλαφῶν
οὐκ ἐδυνάμην εὑρεῖν . . .

. . . λαμβάνω

τουτὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον
καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης Περσικὰς ὑφέλκομαι.⁵

¹ Pseud.-Plutarch, *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 842 C.

² Plutarch, *Phocion* 4.

³ *Women* did not usually remove their shoes indoors, except at meals. Cf. *s.v.* Περσικαί, *infra*, p. 89.

⁴ Ap. Ath. 3. 100 A.

⁵ This whole passage is beautifully illustrated by the marble relief of Aesculapius and the sick man (Hirt. *Bilderbuch f. Myth. Arch. u. Kunst*, I, XI, 3). The

10) Id. *ibid.* 340-347:

. . . καὶ γὰρ ἡ ξύνειμ' ἐγὼ
φρούδη 'στ' ἔχουσα θοϊμάτιον οὐγὼ φόρουν.
κοῦ τοῦτο λυπεῖ μ', ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐμβάδας.
οὔκουν λαβεῖν γ' αὐτὰς ἐδυνάμην οὐδαμοῦ.

ΒΛ. μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς
Λακωνικὰς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχον χεζητιῶν,
ἐς τὼ κοθόρνω τὼ πόδ' ἐνθεις ἵεμαι,
ἵνα μὴ 'γχεσάμ' ἐς τὴν σισύραν· etc.

11) Crates, *Ther. frag.* 15 (Kock, I, p. 134)¹:

ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὰ πάμπαλιν
τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρῶτον ἄξω τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἐπὶ κiónων ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ παιωνίου
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης; ὥσθ' ἐκάστῳ ῥεύσεται
εἰς τὴν πύελον. ἐρεῖ δὲ θῦδωρ 'ἀνέχετε.'
ἔπειτ' ἀλάβαστος εὐθέως ἥξει μύρον
αὐτόματος, ὁ σπόγγος τε καὶ τὰ σάνδαλα.²

Even out of doors in the warmth of a summer day, in the country vineyard or rambling by the cool river, it could have been no startling thing to see men of good station barefoot.³ Those of humbler station in good weather went unshod about their work. The monuments here show us that Plato⁴ is building on facts when he says of his visionary state that its inhabitants

12) σῖτόν τε ποιοῦντες καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ ὑποδήματα, καὶ οἰκοδομησάμενοι οἰκίας, θέρους μὲν τὰ πολλὰ γυμνοὶ τε καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι ἐργάζονται, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἡμφιεσμένοι καὶ ὑποδεδεμένοι.

two shoes placed neatly beneath the bed at the foot suggest the comical gropings of the old man above, when he does not find his ἐμβάδες in their accustomed place.

¹ Ath. 6. 268 A.

² It is clear that the bather removed his shoes on entering the bath. After his bath and anointing, they were brought to him, perhaps to keep his feet dry and clean while he was completing his toilet. For this purpose they may have had wooden soles (*cf. infra*, p. 79). It is just possible that the σπόγγος, here mentioned, may have nothing whatever to do with the bath, but be that used to clean and polish the sandals (*cf. infra*, p. 92).

³ *Cf. supra*, 5.

⁴ *Rep.* 2. 372 A.

But in the streets of the city (13), unpaved and miry as they were,¹ in journey abroad (14) or service afield,² and ever in winter when out of doors the men of Athens wore shoes³ (12, 15).

13) Ar. *Vesp.* 273-276 :

τί ποτ' οὐ πρὸ θυρῶν φαίνεται ἄρ' ὑμῖν ὁ γέρων οὐδ' ὑπακούει;
μῶν ἀπολώλεκεν τὰς
ἐμβάδας, ἧ προσέκοψ' ἐν
τῷ σκότῳ τὸν δάκτυλόν σου.

14) Ar. *Eg.* 319-321 :

νῆ Δία κἀμὲ τοῦτ' ἔδρασε ταῦτόν, ὥστε καὶ γέλων
πάμπολλν τοῖς δημόταισι καὶ φίλοις παρασχεθεῖν
πρὶν γὰρ εἶναι Περγασῆσιν ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιν.

15) Ar. *Vesp.* 445-447 :

. . . καὶ τοὺς πόδας χειμῶνος ὄντος ὠφέλει
ὥστε μὴ ῥιγῶν ἐκάστοτ'. ἀλλὰ τούτοις γ' οὐκ ἔν
οὐδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν αἰδῶς τῶν παλαιῶν ἐμβάδων.

From this last passage it would seem that even the slaves in winter time were by good masters furnished with shoes,⁴ — perhaps had a right to expect them.

We should not then expect on Athenian streets to meet with many barefoot men ; and, save in the balmiest weather, a closer look at those we saw thus unprotected would probably reveal to us, above the bare feet, the homely *τρίβων* and furrowed brow of the frugal philosopher⁵:

16) Aristophanes, *Nub.* 102-104:

αἰβοῖ πονηροὶ γ' οἶδα τοὺς ἀλαζόνας
τοὺς ὠχρῶντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις
ὧν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.

¹ Cf. Hermann, *Griech. Antiq.*³, Vol. IV, p. 137, and the passage in Ar. *Vesp.* 248 *sqq.*, among others.

² Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B.

³ Cf. also 9 and 10 and especially 112.

⁴ Cf. also Xen. *Mem.* I. 6. 2 : ζῆς γοῦν οὕτως ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δοῦλος ὑπὸ δεσπότην διαιτώμενος μείνειε . . . ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἀχίτων διατελεῖς ; and *infra*, 70.

⁵ Cf., for similar phraseology, Theocr. *Id.* 14. 5.

II. THE SHOEMAKER AND SOCIETY.

17) Ἐτι τὰ ὑποδήματα ἃ εἶχες ἔφησθα αὐτὸς σκυτοτομῆσαι, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑφῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτωνίσκον.¹

Whatever the skill of the versatile Hippias, the average mortal did not make his own shoes in Athens more than with us, and somebody had to make them for him. The shoemaker, like all those craftsmen whose occupations kept them indoors and seated,² was pitied and despised by the athletic Greek, for shoemaking was essentially a sedentary occupation (18, 19, 101).³

18) Ar. *Plut.* 160-162 :

τέχνη δὲ πᾶσαι διὰ σε καὶ σοφίσματα
ἐν τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐσθ' ἡρμημένα·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν σκυτοτομεῖ καθήμενος, etc.

19) Hippocrates, *De Artic.* 820 D⁴: χειρῶναξιν ἄρα τούτοισι χρέονται ὅκοσα ἢ σκυτικῆς ἔργα ἢ χαλκείης ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐδρεῖον ἔργον . . . etc.

The shoemaker was often a slave, perhaps master of his earnings above a daily toll due his owner, but bound to him, nevertheless. So Aeschines⁵:

20) χωρὶς δὲ οἰκέτας, δημιουργοὺς τῆς σκυτοτομικῆς τέχνης ἐννέα ἢ δέκα. ὧν ἕκαστος τούτῳ δὴ ὀβολοὺς ἀπέφερε τῆς ἡμέρας, ὃ δ' ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τριώβολον.

When not actually a slave the shoemaker was used by comedian and philosopher as the type of the Philistine δῆμος (21).

21) Ar. *Eccles.* 431-433:

εἴτ' ἐθορύβησαν κἀνέκραγον ὥς εὖ λέγοι
τὸ σκυτοτομικὸν πλῆθος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν
ἀνεβορβόρυξαν . . . etc.

¹ Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 368 C.

² Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 6. 495 D; Xen. *Oec.* 4. 2, etc.

³ Cf. Red-figured *cylix* in British Museum (*Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. f.* 1867, Taf. 4, 5) and the famous, black-figured *Orvieto* vase (*Mon. dell' Inst.* XI, tav. 29. 1. = Baumeister, figg. 1649, 1650).

⁴ In Ar. *Eccles.* 385 *sqq.* the whole assembly is said to look like a conclave of shoemakers, from its pale, "indoor" complexion.

⁵ In *Timarch.* 97.

Like Shakespeare's "mender of soles," in *Julius Caesar*, his estimation was of the lowest. "τὸ σκυτοτομικὸν πλῆθος," says Aristophanes, above (21); "if haply a cobbler learn wisdom," says Plato, in the *Theaetetus*¹:

22) "ἵνα καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι αὐτῶν ᾗ σοφίαν μάθωσιν ἀκούσαντες."

The χαλκεὺς, σκυτοτόμος, βυρσοπώλης, etc., are the "butcher, baker, and candlestick-maker," — the "Hob and Ned and Dick" of Greek literature² (23, 24).

23) Plato, *Sympos.* 221 E: ὄνους γὰρ κανθηλίους λέγει καὶ χαλκῆας τινὰς καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ βυρσοδέψας καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ταῦτ' αἰνέεται λέγειν, ὥστε ἀπειρος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἂν τῶν λόγων καταγελάσειε.

24) Ar. *Eq.* 738–740:

τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς οὐ προσδέχει,
σαντὸν δὲ λυχνοπώλαισι καὶ νευροβράφοις
καὶ σκυτοτόμοις καὶ βυρσοπώλαις ἐπιδίδως.

In spite of the cobbler's humble position, his shop (σκυτοτομεῖον),³ in the region of the ἀγορά, or elsewhere, like the shops of barber and perfumer, was a favorite resort of loafers, and must have witnessed lively scenes, where all Athenians loafed of a morning (25, 26).

25) Lysias, *Or.* 24. 20: ἕκαστος γὰρ ὑμῶν εἴθισται προσφοιτᾶν ὁ μὲν πρὸς μυροπωλεῖον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς κουρεῖον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς σκυτοτομεῖον, ὁ δ' ὅποι ἂν τύχῃ, καὶ πλείστοι μὲν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκευασμένους, ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ὡς τοὺς πλείστον ἀπέχοντας αὐτῆς· ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν πονηρίαν καταγνώσεται τῶν ὡς ἐμὲ εἰσόντων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διατρίβόντων· εἰ δὲ ἀκείνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων· ἅπαντες γὰρ εἴθισθε προσφοιτᾶν καὶ διατρίβειν ἀμὸς γέ που.

26) Teles ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21: Ζήνων ἔφη Κράττητα ἀναγινώσκειν ἐν σκυτεῖ καθήμενον τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους προτρεπτικόν . . . ἀναγινώσκοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν σκυτεῖα ἔφη προσέχειν ἅμα βᾶπτοντα.

In it apprentices might probably be seen, taking their first lessons in the mysteries of their craft (27, 28, 29).

¹ 180 D.

² Cf. also Plato, *Protag.* 319 D; 324 C; *Rep.* 5. 466 B; *Gorg.* 491 A.

³ For an excellent picture of a σκυτοτομεῖον, *vid.* the *Orvieto* vase, above (p. 62, n. 3) cited from *Mon. dell' Inst.* XI, tav. 29. 1. A good reproduction also in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1649.

27) Xen. *Mem.* 4. 4. 5 : διὰ χρόνου γὰρ ἀφικόμενος ὁ Ἰππίας Ἀθήναζε παρεγένετο τῷ Σωκράτει λέγοντι πρὸς τινας, ὡς θαυμαστὸν εἶη τό, εἰ μὲν τις βούλοιτο σκυτεὰ διδάσασθαι τινα ἢ τέκτονα ἢ χαλκέα ἢ ἱππέα, μὴ ἀπορεῖν, ὅποι ἂν πέμψας τούτου τύχοι, etc.

28) Aristotle, *De Sophist. Elench.* 32. p. 184a. 4: ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἐπιστήμην φάσκων παραδῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μηδὲν πονεῖν τοὺς πόδας, εἴτα σκυτοτομικὴν μὲν μὴ διδάσκοι μηδ' ὅθεν δυνήσεται πορίζεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, δοίῃ δὲ πολλὰ γένη παντοδαπῶν ὑποδημάτων· οὗτος γὰρ βεβοήθηκε μὲν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν, τέχνην δ' οὐ παρέδωκεν.

29) Plato, *Rep.* 5. 456 D: ἐν οὖν τῇ πόλει, ἣν ψκίζομεν, πότερον οἶε ἡμῖν ἀμείνους ἀνδρας ἐξεργάσθαι τοὺς φύλακας τυχόντας ἥς διήλθομεν παιδείας, ἢ τοὺς σκυτοτόμους τῇ σκυτικῇ παιδευθέντας;

Here, too, customers might be measured for orders, as in the Orvieto vase already several times cited,¹ or shoes might be purchased ready-made, for we see from the monuments that the shoemaker's shop served as well for the display and sale of his wares. We have no Greek evidence for the open-air vending of shoes that is pictured in the famous Pompeian forum scenes.²

III. THE COBBLER AND THE TANNER.

The raw material from which shoes were made was much the same in Greece as it is with us to-day. The βυρσοτόμος, σκυτοτόμος (30) σκυτεὺς (27), as the very names given him would imply, dealt mainly with the hides of large animals (σκύτη,³ δέρματα,⁴ βύρσαι⁵), the commonest being that of the ox,⁶ and these had been previously dressed, or tanned. Exceptions to this rule are so rare that Xenophon, when the Ten Thousand were obliged to use undressed skins for their καρβάτινα, thinks fit to mention the fact (37).

30) Plato, *Gorg.* 447 D: ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐτύγχανεν ὦν ὑποδημάτων δημιουργός, ἀπεκρίνατο ἂν δὴ πού σοι ὅτι σκυτοτόμος.

¹ *Vid. supra*, p. 63, n. 3. With this it is interesting to compare the like Roman scene, from the Herculaneum wall-painting published in *Pitt. d' Ercol.*, Tom. I, tav. xxxv, p. 187.

² *Pitt. d' Ercol.*, Tom. III, 41 sqq.

³ *Vid.* 31, 32.

⁴ *Vid.* 33.

⁵ *Vid.* 34.

⁶ *Vid.* 35, 36, 37, etc.

- 31) Plato, *Charm.* 173 D: τίνος ἐπιστημόνως λέγεις; ἡ σκυτῶν τομῆς;
 32) Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I. II. p. 1101a. 4: . . . καὶ σκυτοτόμον ἐκ τῶν
 δοθέντων σκυτῶν κάλλιστον ὑπόδημα ποιεῖν.

33) Plato, *Rep.* 2. 370 E: 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν πω πάνν γε μέγα τι εἴη,
 οὐδ' εἰ αὐτοῖς βουκόλους τε καὶ ποιμένας τοὺς τε ἄλλους νομέας προσθεῖμεν,
 ἵνα οἱ τε γεωργοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀροῦν ἔχουσιν βοῦς, οἱ τε οἰκοδόμοι πρὸς τὰς ἀργάς
 μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν χρῆσθαι ὑποζυγίοις, ὑφάνται δὲ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι δέρμασι
 καὶ ἐρίοις.

34) Xen. *Apol. Socr.* 29: οὐκ ἔφην χρῆναι τὸν νῖδον περὶ βύρσας παιδεύειν.

35) Sappho ap. Hephaestion p. 42. I. (*frag.* 98 Bergk):

θυρώρῳ πόδες ἐμπορόγυιοι,
 τὰ δὲ σάμβαλα πεμπεβόηα,
 πίσυγγοι δὲ δέκ' ἐξεπόνασαν.

36) Ar. *Eq.* 314-318:

ΠΑΦ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πράγμα τοῦθ' ὅθεν πάλαι καττίεται.
 'ΑΔΔ. εἰ δὲ μὴ σύ γ' οἶσθα κάττυμ', οὐδ' ἐγὼ χορδεύματα,
 ὅστις ὑποτέμνων ἐπ' ὤλεις δέρμα μοχθηροῦ βοός
 τοῖς ἀγροῖκοισιν πανούργως, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι παχύ,
 καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν φορῆσαι μείζον ἢν δυοῖν δοχμαῖν.

37) Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14: καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα
 ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν.

The tanner (βυρσοδέψης (38 *et passim*), σκυλοδέψης or σκυλόδεσος (39, 40), βυρσοπώλης (24 etc.), σκυτοδέψης (41) or βυρσοποιός¹) seems as a rule to have been a different person from the cobbler, or shoemaker. Both trades are often mentioned in catalogues of professions,² and they are usually distinguished. But the tanner did sometimes make shoes and do other leather work as well. The Paphlagonian in the *Knights* fulfills this double function, and Theophrastus³ speaks of a σκυτοδέψης who repaired a torn wallet of leather.⁴

¹ Deinarch. ap. Poll. 7. 160, where βύρσα means, as usual, *tanned* hide.

² *Vid.* 24, 39, 42, and *cf.* Plato, *Symp.* 221 E.

³ *Charact.* 16. *Vid.* 43, *infra.* *Cf.* also the shoemaker's and tanner's tools found in one shop at Mayence along with boots and sandals. Blümner, *Technologie*, I, p. 281, fig. 29.

⁴ On this branch of the leather trade, *cf. infra*, 117: σκυτάρια ῥαπτά.

38) Ar. *Eq.* 44:

. . . οὗτος τῇ προτέρᾳ νομηνίᾳ
ἐπρίατο δοῦλον, βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα.

39) Ar. *Av.* 490-492:

ἀναπηδῶσιν πάντες ἐπ' ἔργον χαλκῆς κεραμῆς σκυλοδέψαι
σκυτῆς βαλανῆς ἀλφिताμοιβοὶ τορνευτολυρασπιδοπηγοί,
οἳ δὲ βαδίζουσ' ὑποδησάμενοι νύκτωρ

40) Demosthenes, *In Aristogit.* I. (Or. 25. 38): ἔπειτ' ἐν τούτοις
τὸν μὲν ταλαίπωρον Φωκίδην καὶ τὸν χαλκοτύπον τὸν ἐκ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὸν
σκυλόδεψον καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων κατηγόρηκε παρ' ὑμῖν εἰδ' ἀδικούντας τὴν
πόλιν, etc.

41) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 18. 5¹: τῶν δὲ κλωνίων τῶν νέων
ἐξ ἴσου τὰ φύλλα εἰς δύο κατ' ἄλληλα δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ὥστε στοιχεῖν.
βάπτουσι δὲ τοῦτῳ καὶ οἱ σκυτοδέψαι τὰ δέρματα τὰ λευκά.

42) Ar. *Plut.* 513-514:

τίς χαλκεύει ἢ ναυπηγεῖν ἢ ῥάπτειν ἢ τροχοποιεῖν
ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν ἢ πλινθουργεῖν ἢ πλύνειν ἢ σκυλοδεψεῖν.

43) Theophrastus, *Char.* 16: καὶ ἐὰν μῦς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διαφάγη,
πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾶν, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· καὶ ἐὰν ἀποκρίνηται αὐτῷ
ἐκδοῦναι τῷ σκυτοδέψῃ ἐπιρράψαι, etc.

Of the process of tanning we learn little from writers within our period.² The *Knights* contains a good many references which later authorities enable us to interpret. *θρανεύσεται* (v. 369), *διαπαταλευθήσει χαμαί* (v. 371), and *παραστορῶ* (v. 481) are all said by the scholiasts to mean "peg out," or "stretch out," as the tanner stretched his hides on bench or ground to clean them;³ and *παρατιλῶ* (v. 373) is explained by the tanner's practice of depilating the hides. As a preparation for this depilation, the hides were treated with a strong acid solution and the resulting ichor was in high favor as a fertilizer. So Theophrastus, who calls it *κόπρος*

¹ Of the *κυνόσβατος* or "dog-thorn."

² On the whole subject, see Blümner, *Technologie*, I, p. 257 sqq.

³ *Vid.* Blümner, *l.c.*

βυρσοδεψική or σκυτοδεψική.¹ The actual process of tanning was performed much as it is to-day. We have mention of the bark of the pine (44) and the alder (45), the leaves of the myrtle (46) and of the sumach, or dog-thorn (41), as well as the familiar gall-apple (47).

44) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 9. 1: πεύκης γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡμερον ποιοῦσι, τὸ δ' ἄγριον, τῆς δ' ἀγρίας δύο γένη· καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν μὲν ἰδαίαν, τὴν δὲ παραλίαν· . . . τὸ δὲ φύλλον λεπτότερον καὶ ἀμενηνότερον ἢ παραλία καὶ λειότερον τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ δέρματα χρήσιμον· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα οὐ.²

45) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 14. 3: μονογενὲς δὲ καὶ ἡ κλήθρα . . . τραχύφλοιον δὲ καὶ ὁ φλοιὸς ἔσωθεν ἐρυθρὸς, δι' ὃ καὶ βάπτει τὰ δέρματα.

46) Hippocrates, *De Morb. Mul.* 1. p. 628. 22: . . . ἡ σιδίῳ ῥόῳ βυρσοδεψικῇ, μυρσίνης φύλλοισι καὶ βάτον ἐν οἴνῳ μέλανι ἐψῆν καὶ κλύζειν.

47) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 3. 8. 6: κηκίδας δὲ πάντα φέρει τὰ γένη, μόνη δὲ εἰς τὰ δέρματα χρησίμην ἡ ἡμέρις.

The tan-yard was thus famed in ancient as in modern times for an odor, not "born to waste its sweetness on the desert air" (48, 49, 50).

48) Ar. *Eg.* 892 :

. . . ἰαιβοῖ.

οὐκ ἔς κόρακας ἀποφθερεῖ βύρσης κάκιστον ὄζων;

49) Ar. *Pax.* 753 :

διαβὰς βυρσῶν ὄσμᾶς δεινὰς κάπειλὰς βαρβαρομήθους.

50) Ar. *Vesp.* 38 :

. . . παῦε, παῦε, μὴ λέγε·

ὄζει κάκιστον τοῦνύνιον βύρσης σαπρᾶς.

And, if we may trust the scholiast on the *Acharnians*, 724, tanneries, like the abodes of the dead, must be outside the city limits.³

51) Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 724: τόπος ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος, Λεπρὸς καλούμενος, ἔνθα τὰ βυρσεῖα ἦν.

¹ Theophrastus, *De Caus. Plant.* 3. 9. 3 ; 3. 17. 5 ; 5. 15. 2.

² Blümner, curiously enough, has confused the *īdāia* and the *paralía* in spite of this plain statement. See *Technologie*, p. 263, n. 1. A rare instance of sleepiness.

³ That this was so in later times is shown by the passages from Artemidorus (*Onirocr.* 1. 51 ; 2. 20 ; 4. 56) which Blümner (*o. c.*) cites on p. 262, n. 1.

IV. THE SHOEMAKER AND THE SHOE.

The Athenian gentleman was as particular about the style and fit of his shoe as he was about the cut and hang of his ἱμάτιον. Plato recognizes the value in good looks of neatness here.

52) Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 294 A: ὥσπερ γε ἐπειδὴν ἱμάτιά τις λάβῃ ἢ ὑποδήματα ἀρμόττοντα, κἂν ἢ γελοῖος, καλλίων φαίνεται.¹

The shoemaker, we may be sure, was as careful to wear fine shoes as the clothier's clerk is now to dress well, or the ragged bootblack, of the city street, to put a fine polish on his tattered underpinnings.

53) Plato, *Gorg.* 490 D: ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποδήματα δῆλον ὅτι δεῖ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν φρονιμώτατον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ βέλτιστον. τὸν σκυτοτόμον ἕως μέγιστα δεῖ ὑποδήματα καὶ πλείστα ὑποδεδεμένον περιπατεῖν;

The multitude of shoe-names which Pollux has preserved to us,—all of which I have found in writers before Theocritus,—testifies, more eloquently than any statement, to the variety and fastidiousness of taste that prevailed.²

The work on the shoe was hand-work,—the shoemaker guiding his simple tools, with the intervention of no machine.³ So Plato in the *First Alcibiades*:

54) Plato, *Alc. I.* 129 C and D: ὥσπερ σκυτοτόμος τέμνει πον τομεῖ καὶ σμίλῃ καὶ ἄλλοις ὄργανοις . . . τί οὖν; φῶμεν τὸν σκυτοτόμον τέμνειν ὄργανοις μόνον ἢ καὶ χερσίν;

These ὄργανα, as we see from the monuments, and from actual samples which have come down to us, were remarkably like our own. The tools for which we have literary evidence are the following:

A) The *knives* or *cutters*, τομεύς, and σμίλη.⁴

These two are evidently differentiated in the *Alcibiades* passage, above. The scholiast on the *Republic* i. 353 A is more specific:

55) σμίλη ἐστὶν ὄργανον τμητικόν, ἰσόπεδον τὴν βάσιν ἔχων, ὡς τὸ ἐναντίον ὁ τομεύς κυκλοτερῆ. ἔστι δὲ σκυτοτομικὰ ἐργαλεῖα.

¹ *Vid.* also 64, 65, 89, *infra*.

² *Vid.* Pollux, 7. 80, 94, etc.

³ *Cf.* again the two vase-paintings referred to on p. 62.

⁴ *Cf.* σμιλεύματα, *Ar. Ran.* 819.

- B) The *stroph*, *πίναξ* (if Schneider's explanation be correct)¹ of the wood of the wild pear tree, *ἀχράς*.
- 56) Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 5. 5. 1 : τὰ δὲ μοχθηρὰ σιδήρια δύνανται τέμνειν τὰ σκληρὰ μᾶλλον τῶν μαλακῶν· ἀνίησι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μαλακοῖς . . . , παρακονῶ δὲ μάλιστα ταῦτα· δι' ὃ καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι ποιοῦνται τοὺς πίνακας ἀχράδος.
- C) The *last*, *καλόπους* (57) and
- D) An unnamed tool which served to smooth and shape the upper about the last.
- 57) Plato, *Sympos.* 191 A : ὁ δὲ τότε πρόσωπον μετέστρεφε καὶ συνέλκων πανταχόθεν τὸ δέρμα ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα ὥσπερ τὰ σύσπαστα βαλάντια ἐν στόμα ποιῶν, ἀπέδει κατὰ μέσσην τὴν γαστέρα ὃ δὴ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ῥυτίδας τὰς πολλὰς ἐξελέεινε καὶ τὰ στήθη διήρθρον ἔχων τι τοιοῦτον ὄργανον οἷον οἱ σκυτοτόμοι περὶ τὸν καλόποδα λεαίνοντες τὰς τῶν σκυτῶν ῥυτίδας.
- E) The *awl*, *ῥπεας* or *ὀπήτιον*, both of which forms Pollux² gives, and both of which have been respectively emended into the passage of Nicochares's *Cretans* which he there strives to quote. Kock (I, 772) reads yet another form, *ῥπεαρ* :
- 58) τὸ τρυπάνις ἀντίπαλον ῥπεαρ χιλίους. Whatever may have been the exact form of the name, the awl itself was like those in use to-day.³

Besides these, whose names we know, or of which we have special mention, the monuments show us a hammer, a pair of pliers, a low, three-legged table, and a cutting board of some little thickness. Still, shoemaking was mainly an affair of the awl and the needle in the popular mind:

59) Plato, *Politic.* 180 C : τὴν τ' αὖ πηλτικὴν ἀφωρισάμεθα καὶ τὴν τῇ τρησεὶ καὶ ῥαφῇ χρωμένην σύνθεσιν, ἧς ἡ πλείστη σκυτοτομική. Indeed, this is true to-day, although the cutting and pounding are really as important. After the layers of the sole⁴ had been cut, and the upper, if there was to be one, shaped and fitted, the leather was pierced by the awl, and the parts stitched together with threads of

¹ *Ad Theophr.*, Vol. III, p. 436: *sunt tabulae ad quas cultros attritos sutores acuere solebant.*

² *IO.* 141.

³ *Cf.* upper left-hand corner of *Orvieto* vase.

⁴ *Vid. infra*, p. 90 *sqq.*

sinew (νεῦρα).¹ Hence, "to stitch" is often *νευροῤῥαφεῖν* (60, 61) and the shoemaker himself, by synecdoche, *νευροῤῥάφος* (62); although, in large cities, as Xenophon² tells us, where the cutting and pegging and stitching were performed by different hands, the term *νευροῤῥάφος* would be reserved for the *sewer*, as *σκυτοτόμος* for the *cutter* proper (24, 61). Blümner's contention³ that the *νευροῤῥάφος* was a *cobbler*, or *repairer*, of shoes, in distinction to *σκυτοτόμος*, *shoemaker*, does not seem to me a sound one. That there was any more stitching in the repairer's work than in that of the shoemaker is certainly not likely. The distinction I have tried to draw is more natural and goes equally well with the ancient evidence.

60) Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 B: αὐτῷ τῷ ὄντι πάντα ἐπίστασθον; οἶον τεκτονικὴν καὶ σκυτικήν; — πάνν γ', ἔφη — ἦ καὶ νευροῤῥαφεῖν δυνατὸν ἔστων; — καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία καττύειν,⁴ ἔφη.

61) Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5: ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δεῖσθαι, ἀρκεῖ καὶ μία ἐκάστῃ τέχνῃ εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ οἷδ' ὅλη μία, ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα, ὁ δὲ γυναικεῖα, ἔστι δὲ ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευροῤῥαφῶν τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ συντιθεῖς ταῦτα.

62) Plato, *Rep.* 4. 421 A: νευροῤῥάφοι γὰρ φαῦλοι γεγόμενοι καὶ διαφθαρέντες καὶ προσποιησάμενοι εἶναι μὴ ὄντες πόλει οὐδὲν δεινόν.

In general, however, a single shoemaker would cut and fit and finish the shoe, and terms properly confined to the makers of parts are loosely used for the general word.⁵ The curious word *πίσυγγος* (or *πίσσυγγος*) is used for *shoemaker* by Sappho (35) and Pollux tells us that "some of the comic poets" also made use of it⁶:

63) Pollux, 7. 82: τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὑποδήματα ῥάπτοντας πῖσσυγγους ἔνιοι τῶν κωμικῶν καλοῦσι καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια αὐτῶν πῖσσυγγα.

It would appear that in the finer shoes, and in new work, sewing alone was employed, it being a mark of rusticity or poverty to wear

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 544: δέρματα συῤῥάπτειν νεύρῳ βοός.

² *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5; *vid. infra*, 61.

³ *Technologie*, I, p. 270 and n. 4.

⁴ This is the proper word for "*repair*"; *cf. infra*, p. 71.

⁵ Cf. 26 *supra*: σκυτέα . . . ῥάπτοντα, and 63.

⁶ The word is found once in Alexandr. Aetol. ap. Athen. 15. 699 C, but this is somewhat later than our period.

“tapped” shoes, with nails in them.¹ So Teles says of the young Metrocles, when he was studying with Theophrastus and Xenocrates:

64) Teles ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31²: τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔδει ὑπόδημα ἔχειν καὶ τοῦτο ἀκάττυτον ἦλους οὐκ ἔχον, εἴτα χλανίδα, etc.

It was considered poor taste, also, to wear ill-fitting shoes. So Theophrastus³ makes it a sign of ἀγροικία.

65) . . . “μεῖζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν.”⁴

The honest cobbler, skilled in his art, as Aristotle says, will make good shoes.

66) Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23: εἰ δὴ τίς ἐστιν ἀρετὴ σκυτικῆς καὶ σπουδαίου σκυτέως, τὸ ἔργον ἔστι σπουδαῖον ὑπόδημα.

But

Lack the will, or lack the skill,
So fares the luckless buyer ill.

Unscrupulous σκυτοτόμοι, by the use of split leather and leather cut transversely to look thick, would often provide such unpleasant surprises for their patrons as the Chorus in the *Knights* received at the hands of their Paphlagonian scoundrel (36, and cf. 14).

It was, as we have seen, as much a part of the shoemaker's work to repair shoes as to make them (67, 68, 69), but the wearer of “twice-cobbled” shoes was branded by Theophrastus as ἀνελεύθερος (69). The word for cobbling, pegging, repairing, resoling, and the like is καττύνειν (69, etc.), and the adjective παλίμψηστα (102; cf. 69), was applied to the cobbled shoe.

67) Plato, *Men.* 91 D, E: καίτοι τέρας λέγεις, εἰ οἱ μὲν τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐξακούμενοι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο λαθεῖν τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας μοχθηρότερα ἀποδιδόντες ἢ παρέλαβον τὰ ἱμάτια τε καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα.

68) Ar. *Lys.* 414-419:

ἕτερος δέ τις πρὸς σκυτοτόμον ταδὶ λέγει
νεανίαν καὶ πέος ἔχοντ' οὐ παιδικόν·
ὦ σκυτοτόμε μου τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς
τὸ δακτυλίδιον πιέζει τὸ ζυγὸν
ἄθ' ἀπαλὸν ὄν. τοῦτ' οὖν σὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας
ἐλθὼν χάλασον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρυτέρως ἔχη.

¹ Cf. *infra*, 69.

³ *Char.* 4.

⁴ Cf. also *supra*, 14, 36.

² This is just within our period, as we are speaking of Metrocles's early life.

69) Theophrastus, *Char.* 22 (ἀνελευθέρου ἐστὶ) καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα παλιμπήξει κεκαττυμένα φορεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὅτι κέρατος οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

It is pretty certain, however, that gentlemen sometimes violated this rule of Theophrastus, as such rules are transgressed by those who please, in all society.

V. THE SHOE.

Of the shoes themselves we are confronted with a bewildering variety. There were shoes for men and shoes for women¹ (61); there were good shoes and poor shoes (70); leather shoes and felt shoes (p. 93), and shoes with wooden soles (p. 79); there were sandals and slippers,² and half-boots,³ and top-boots;⁴ tall shoes for short people (71, 72),⁵ thin shoes for tall people (72); shoes for summer and shoes for winter.

70) Xen. *Oec.* 13. 10: ἱμάτιά τε γὰρ αἱ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐμὲ τοῖς ἐργαστήρσι καὶ ὑποδήματα οὐχ ὅμοια πάντα ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χεῖρω, τὰ δὲ βελτίω, ἵνα ἡ τὸν κρείττω τοῖς βελτίοσι τιμᾶν, τῷ δὲ χείρονι τὰ ἥττω διδόναι.

71) Xen. *Oec.* 10. 2: ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἰδὼν ποτε αὐτήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐντετριμμένην πολλῶ μὲν ψιμυθίῳ, ὅπως λευκοτέρα ἔτι δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἡν, πολλῇ δ' ἐγχούσῃ, ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσιν ὑψηλά, ὅπως μείζων δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει, etc.

72) Alexis, *Isostasion*, frag. 98. 7. (Kock, II, p. 329):

τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὔσα, φέλλος ἐν ταῖς βαυκίσιν
ἐγκεκάττυται· μακρά τις, διάβαθρον λεπτὸν φορεῖ.

The general word for *shoe* appears to have been ὑπόδημα (2, 3, 4, etc., *passim*), as the word meaning “to wear shoes,” “to be shod” was ὑποδεσθαι.⁶

¹ Cf. also Xen. *Oec.* 9. 6.

² Vid. s.v. βλαῦται, *infra*.

³ Vid. s.v. ἐμβάδες, *infra*.

⁴ Vid. s.v. ἐμβάται and κόθορνοι, *infra*.

⁵ So among the Medes, Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 1. 41.

⁶ Cf. 73, *infra*, etc.

On the other hand, almost all the adjectival names of shoes, as *Περσικαί*, *Λακωνικαί*, etc., are feminines. All these, furthermore, as will be seen, are of the true *shoe*, or *sole-and-upper*, variety,¹ while the few neuters are all pretty certainly of the sandal type. We should therefore infer that *ὑπόδημα*, in accordance with its derivation, was originally a designation of the *sandal* only, while *ἐμβάς*, or some similar word, was used to denote the whole shoe-class, as we now conceive it. So far as I know, there is nothing to hinder this theory, especially since *ἐμβάς* still seems to carry a hint of its general use.²

The tragic word for *shoe*³ in general seems to have been *ἀρβύλη*. That this word does not indicate a particular style of shoe is evident, I believe, from the following facts:—

a) So far as I can find, a word for shoe occurs thirteen distinct times in extant tragedies and tragic fragments⁴:—ten times it is *ἀρβύλη*; once each, *εὔμαρις*, *κρούπαλον*, *πέδιλον*. This would indicate one of three things:—either *ἀρβύλη* was a particular kind of stock tragic boot, or the characters on whom it appears were like and in like situations, or *ἀρβύλη* meant simply “*shoe*.”

b) The word cannot denote the tragic boot or buskin, for in the fragment of Euripides, preserved to us in a fragment of Aristotle, *ἀρβύλη* is identified with *πέδιλον*,—and there is no doubt as to the nature of the latter.⁵

73) Aristot. *frag.* p. 1486b. 22⁶: τοὺς δὲ Θεστίου κόρους τὸν μὲν ἀριστερόν ποδα φησὶν Εὐριπίδης ἐλθεῖν ἔχοντας ἀνυπόδετον·

τὸ λαὶὸν ἵχνος ἦσαν ἀνάρβυλοι ποδός
τὸ δ' ἐν πεδίλοις, ὥς ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ
ἔχουεν,⁷

¹ Except the *ἀπλαι* (p. 80), which are doubtful both in form and gender.

² *Vid. infra*, p. 81.

³ Unless otherwise stated, I shall use the word *shoe* hereafter to include all footgear—this for convenience.

⁴ *Vid. Index, s.v. ἀρβύλη, κτλ.*

⁵ *Vid. infra, s.v. πέδιλον.*

⁶ Ap. Macrobian. *Sat.* 5. 18. 19, where the passage of Euripides is twice quoted. *Vid. Nauck, Trag. Frag.* Fr. 530 of Euripides's *Meleager*.

⁷ Aristotle's quotation is inexact. Cf. n. 6, *supra*.

ὥς δὴ πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἔθος τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀριστερόν ὑποδέδενται, τὸν δὲ δεξιὸν ἀνυποδετοῦσιν· δεῖ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὸν ἡγούμενον ἔχειν ἐλαφρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἐμμένοντα.

Here the Aetolians have one foot "without ἀρβύλη"; and the other "with πέδιλον." Either, then, ἀρβύλη = πέδιλον, or it is a perfectly general word, and ἀνάρβυλος is absolutely equivalent to ἀνυπόδετος.

But let us consider our second alternative. Is the ἀρβύλη used as we should expect a special kind of boot to be used, by like persons and under like circumstances? Here are the facts:

c) It is worn by women as well as by men; by the κλεινὴ δάμαρ of Zeus:

74) Eur. *Her. Fur.* 1303-1304:

χορευέτω δὴ Ζηνὸς ἡ κλεινὴ δάμαρ
κρύουσ' Ὀλύμπου δῖον ἀρβύλῃ πέδον,¹

and by the Chorus in the *Orestes* of Euripides (v. 140):

75) σίγα, σίγα, λεπτὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης
τίθετε, μὴ κτυπεῖτ', etc.

d) In Hippocrates, the epithet *πηλοπατίς*, "mud-walker," is added, and the ἀρβύλη is there evidently a close-fitting and foot-supporting boot.

76) Hippocrates, *De Art.* 828 D: ὅτου δὲ ἐς ὑποδήματος λόγον εἶη, ἀρβύλαι ἐπιτηδεύονται αἱ πηλοπατίδες καλεόμεναι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑποδημάτων ἡκιστα κρατέεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ποδός, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖ μάλλον.

The word here is used exactly as a general word would be used.

e) In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus the ἀρβύλη has a thong (cf. λύοι):

77) Aesch. *Ag.* 935 sqq.:

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός,
καὶ τοῖσδ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν
μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.

¹ We must suppose this a fine shoe.

f) The passage from the *Hippolytus*¹ remains to be considered. It runs:

78) μάρπτει δὲ χερσὶν ἡνίας ἀπ' ἄντυγος,
 αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδα.

Here Monk, Paley, and others try to take αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν as "boots and all," and explain that Hippolytus in his hurry did not wait to change his walking-shoes for more proper attire. This view assumes that the ἀρβύλη was a very definite shoe, and that unsuited to driving, — for whatever reason. With Dindorf, however, I am inclined to accept the Scholiast's explanation as at least as satisfactory²:

79) αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν: ταῖς τοῦ ἄρματος περὶ τὴν ἄντυγα, ἐνθα τὴν στάσιν ἔχει ὁ ἡνίοχος.

80) So also Eustathius³: ἐνθα κεῖται καὶ ἀρβύλη οὐκ ἐπὶ ὑποδήματος ἐν τῷ 'αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλῃσιν ἀρμόσας πόδα.' αἱ δηλοῦσι τὸ περὶ τὴν ἄντυγα τοῦ ἄρματος μέρος, ἐνθα, φασὶν, ἡ τοῦ ἡνίοχου στάσις ἐστί.

At any rate it seems incredible that, with the line:

αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδα (or πόδας)

and no other dative in the sentence (except χερσὶν, above), we should take αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν with anything else than ἀρμόσας, or fail to take it with that verb.

In the remaining five passages in which the word occurs,⁴ it will bear either a general or particular interpretation. Both Orestes and Pentheus, who are mentioned as wearing the ἀρβύλη, were travellers, and if other things permitted, we might suppose it a heavy traveller's shoe, like the *πηλοπαρίς* of Hippocrates. But I think I have shown that the other evidence does not permit.

Smith's *Dict. Ant.*⁵ s.v. *Pero*, is, therefore, not correct in the statement: "The boots worn by shepherds and laborers in rough and muddy weather were usually of untanned leather and made at

¹ Eur. *Hippol.* 1188–1189.

² Vid. Schwartz, *Schol. in Eur.*, Vol. II, p. 125. Daremberg and Saglio also accept this view (vid. s.v. ARBYLE).

³ Eustath. *ad Il.* 5. 720, p. 599. 22.

⁴ Eur. *Orest.* 1465–1472; *Bacch.* 636–639; 1133–1134; *Elect.* 532–537; Aesch. *Phrygians*, frag. 259 (Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 83, who refers this to *Phineus* and not *Phrygians*).

⁵ Vol. II, p. 373.

home. The Greek ἀρβύλη was of this kind, for the epithet *πηλοπατὶς* is given to it and it was used by travellers, hunters, and country-folk. It was apparently a low boot," etc. For a short passage the above is rather remarkable for ill-digested assertions. It is perhaps kinder to say no more, although one is anxious to know in which of the above categories Hera should be classified!¹

The word *πέδιλον*, as its derivation suggests, seems at first to have been used in a general sense for foot-wear of any kind. For though its regular classical use is of a shoe of the sandal type, Herodotus uses it of high boots reaching the knee:

81) Herod. 7. 75: *θρήϊκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ξευρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν.*

82) Herod. 7. 67: *Σαράγγαι δὲ εἴματα γὰρ βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς, etc.*

With these exceptions the *πέδιλον* may be pretty certainly identified with the *σάνδαλον*, or *σανδάλιον*;² the winged sandal of Perseus is called *σανδάλιον* in Herodotus.

83) Herod. 2. 91: *οὔτοι οἱ Χερμίται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι, πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ. σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὕρισκεσθαι, ἐὼν τὸ μέγεθος δίπηχυν.*

While in Aristophanes and Euripides — or rather by Euripides, *propria persona*, and Euripides in caricature — *πέδιλον* is used for the same thing:

84) Eur. *Elect.* 458–463:

*περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἵπνος ἔδρα
Περσέα λαιμοτόμαν ὑπὲρ
ἄλως ποτανοῖσι πέδιλοι-
σι φύαν Γοργόνης ἴσχειν
Διὸς ἀγγέλῳ σὺν Ἑρμῇ
τῷ Μαίας ἀγροτῇρι κούρῳ.*

¹ The later use of the word bears out its general sense. Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 306, 307, 308, where the same statue of Anacreon is successively spoken of as wearing one *ἀρβυλλίς*, *βλαῦτη*, *σάνδαλον*, etc.

² That is to say, wherever we can definitely say what the *πέδιλον* is, it corresponds to what we know of the *σανδάλιον*. From most of the passages in which it occurs, we learn little of its nature.

85) Ar. *Thesm.* 1098-1102 (*Euripides loquitur*):

ὦ θεοὶ τίν' ἐς γῆν βαρβάρων ἀφίγμεθα
ταχεί πεδίλῳ; διὰ μέσον γὰρ αἰθέρος
τέμνων κέλευθον πόδα τίθημι' ὑπόπτερον
Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἄργος ναυστολῶν τὸ Γοργόνος
κάρα κομίζων.

Both πέδιλα and σανδάλια were occasionally worn by women (86, 87, 88).

86) Eumelus ap. Pausan. 4. 33. 2:

τὼ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα
ἡ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

87) Theopompus, *Pamph.* ap. Poll. 10. 49: θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς
ἐν Παμφίλῃ καὶ σανδάλια εἶρηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γυναικός.

88) Eurip. *frag.* 911 Nauck¹:

χρύσειαι δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νότῳ
καὶ τὰ Σειρήνων πτερόεντα πέδιλα
[ἀρμόζεται,]
βάσομαί τ' εἰς αἰθέριον πόλον ἀρθεῖς
Ζηνὶ προσμείξων.

But they were perhaps proper rather to men than to women² (87).
Both are of the *strap-and-sole* variety, and not shoes with uppers:

89) Ehippus, *Nauf frag.* 14 (Kock, II, p. 257)³:

ἔπειτ' ἀναστὰς εὖστοχος νεανίας
τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα τῶν
Βρυσηνοθρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων,
πληγαῖς ἀνάγκης μαψιλογομίσθῳ τέχνῃ
συνών τε κοῦκ ἄσκεπτα δυνάμενος λέγειν,
εὖ μὲν μαχαίρα ξύστ' ἔχων τριχώματα,
εὖ δ' ὑποκαθιεὶς ἄτομα πώγωνος βάθῃ,
εὖ δ' ἐν πεδίλῳ πόδα τιθεὶς ὑπὸ ζυγόν,

¹ Ap. Clement. Alex. *Strom.* 4, p. 642. The reference above is to the *Trag.*
Frag. p. 655. I have followed Nauck's reading, which is rather doubtful.

² *Vid.* also note at end of this division (p. 79).

³ Athen. 11, p. 509 C.

κνήμης ἱμάντων ἰσομέτροις ἐλίγμασιν,
 ὄγκῳ τε χλανίδος εὖ τεθωρακισμένος,
 σχῆμ' ἀξιοχρεων ἐπικαθεῖς βακτηρίᾳ,
 ἀλλότριον, οὐκ οἰκείον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
 ἔλεξεν ἄνδρες τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονός.¹

90) Cratinus, *Nomoi. frag.* 131 (Kock, I, p. 54)²: τὸ δὲ σανδάλιον οὐ μόνον Μένανδρος εἶρηκε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, ὥσπερ τὸ σάνδαλον Εὐπολὶς ἐν χρυσῷ γένει, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ κωμικοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις

Σανδάλια Τυρρῆνικά.

These Τυρρῆνικά are explained in 7. 92 as:

91) τὸ κάττυμα ξύλινον τετράγωνον, οἱ δὲ ἱμάντες ἐπίχρυσοι· σανδάλιον γὰρ ἦν, ὑπέδησε δ' αὐτὸ Φειδίας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.

The distinguishing mark of these shoes was probably the ζυγόν, the strap, or rudimentary upper, which was fixed across the toes, and formed the first step in the progress from sandal or sole to the closed shoe. Compare the *Lysistrata* passage above quoted (68) and the Scholiast *ad loc.*³:

92) τὸν ζυγόν: ζυγὸς καλεῖται ὁ περικείμενος τοῖς γυναικεῖοις σανδαλίοις ἱμᾶς κατὰ τοὺς δακτύλους πρὸς τὸ συνέχειν ἐζυγωμένον τὸν πόδα. The sole⁴ was further held on by straps (ἱμάντες, 89, 91, etc.), interlacing across the foot and sometimes carried over the calf of the leg to form a graceful and useful protection (89). Becker seems keen in his inference from Cephisodorus's words, quoted by Pollux⁵:

93) Cephisodorus, *Trophon.* 4 (Kock, I, p. 801):

... Σανδάλια δὲ τῶν λεπτοσχιδῶν
 ἐφ' οἷς τὰ χρυσᾶ ταῦτ' ἔπεισιν ἄνθεμα.⁶
 νῦν δ' ὥσπερ ἡ θεράπαιν' ἔχω περιβαρίδας.

¹ I have adopted for convenience Kock's reading except in two particulars:— I should propose ζυγόν as almost certain, for the MS. ξυρόν in v. 8, and between vv. 8 and 9 there is certainly a verse lacking, probably beginning, as Dobree conjectures, with εἰ δ' and so dropped out.

² Ap. Pollux, 7. 86 and 7. 92.

³ Rutherford, Vol. II, p. 183. So Hesychius.

⁴ Called πέλα by Nicander, *Georg.* ap. Athen. 9. 370 A. The classical word seems to have been κάττυμα (*vid.* 99, 100, 101, *infra*). ⁵ 7. 87.

⁶ Cf. the phrase χρυσοσάνδαλον ἔχων, of Clytaemnestra, Eur. *Or.* 1468.

He reasons that the *σανδάλιον*, above mentioned, must have had more than a strap in sight in order to be thus "gold-embroidered." Hence the *ζυγόν* here must have been a considerable toe-piece.¹

The *Tyrrhenian* sandals, already referred to (90, 91), had, if we may believe Pollux, a four-square sole of wood, and gilded straps.² Such a shoe Phidias, he says, represented on the foot of the goddess Athena.

As to the statement of Hesychius³ which Becker⁴ accepts without question, that the *σανδάλιον* was a *woman's* shoe, the following statistics are interesting: *πέδιλον*, *σανδάλιον*, *σάνδαλον* or *σανδαλίσκος* — among which there seems to have been no radical distinction — occur 24 times in our period; in 6 passages they are *women's* shoes; in 2, indeterminate, and in 16, worn by *men*. *πέδιλον* occurs 12 times, and only once of women; *σάνδαλον* occurs 5 times, and only twice of women; *σανδάλιον*, in 5 times, refers to women thrice; and *σανδαλίσκος*, occurring twice, is once plainly a man's shoe, and the other time probably so. Further, the authority of the Scholiast on *Lysistrata* 68 (*quoted in 92 above*), which Becker interprets in his favor,⁵ should really count against him, since the very fact that the Scholiast speaks of *γυναικεῖα σανδάλια* would show that there were *σανδάλια ἀνδρεῖα* also. That the *ζυγόν*, however, was confined to women's sandals is contradicted by what we know of the monuments, even if my proposed reading in the fragment of Ephippus's *Castaway* be not accepted.⁶

Of much the same style as the *σανδάλια* were probably the *ῥάδια*, variegated shoes with long and intricate wrappings of thong (94), and the *κονίποδες*, which, we may suppose, covered little of the foot, but seem to have been rather elegant (95). The latter, however, may have been a kind of Chinese slipper, and without straps.

94) Plato, *Com. frag.* 251 (Kock, I, p. 665)⁷: *ῥάδια δὲ ποικίλον καὶ πολυέλικτον ὑπόδημα. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Πλάτων τε καὶ Φερεκράτης.*

¹ *Vid.*, however, Göll's note to Becker, *Char.* III, p. 272.

² *Cf.* the phrase *χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχων*, of Clytaemnestra, Eur. *Or.* 1468.

³ *s.v.* *σανδάλιον*.

⁴ *Char.* III, p. 272, ed. Göll.

⁵ *l.c.*

⁶ *Vid. supra*, p. 78, n. 1.

⁷ *Vid.* also Pherecrates (Kock, I, pp. 206, 227), and Pollux, 7. 94.

95) Ar. *Ecol.* 848 :

γέρων δὲ χωρεῖ χλανίδα καὶ κονίποδας
ἔχων, καχάζων μεθ' ἑτέρου νεανίου·
ἐμβὰς δὲ κείται καὶ τρίβων ἐρρίμενος.

Here, too, belong the so-called ἀπλαῖ (96, 98) or ἀπλᾶ (96), affected at Sparta, consisting of a simple sole with no ζυγόν; for this, and not *single-thickness*, seems to be the correct interpretation of μονόπελμα below.¹ To the same effect is Hermippus's word αὐτοσχεδῆς or better αὐτοσχεδῖς (97).

96) Strattis, *Lemnomeda*, frag. 24 (Kock, I, p. 718)²: ἀπλᾶς . . . Καλλίστρατός φησι τὰ μονόπελμα τῶν ὑποδημάτων οὕτω καλεῖσθαι. Στράτις Λημνομέδα·

. . . ὑποδήματα

σαντῷ πρίασθαι τῶν ἀπλῶν . . .

97) Hermippus, *Demot. frag.* 18 (Kock, I, p. 229): αὐτοσχεδῖς ὑπόδημα τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰργασμένον, "Ερμιππος εἶρηκεν ἐν Δημόταις.

98) Demosth. *In Con.* (Or. 54. 34) : οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἐσκυθρωπάσκει καὶ λακωνίζουσι φασὶ καὶ τρίβωνες ἔχουσι καὶ ἀπλᾶς ὑποδέονται. Probably we should also place here the καττύματα, rough soles, it would seem from the derivation of the word. κάττυμα is used of the sole of a shoe (99, 100, 101) and of the shoe itself (36, 102, 103).

99) Ar. *Eg.* 868-870:

. . . σκύτη τοσαῦτα πωλῶν

ἔδωκας ἤδη τουτῷ κάττυμα παρὰ σεαυτοῦ
ταῖς ἔμβασιν, φάσκων φιλεῖν;

100) Ar. *Ach.* 300-301 :

ὡς μεμίσσηκά σε Κλέωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὄν ἐ-
γὼ τεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεύσει καττύματα.

101) Hippocrates, *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. p. 1153 D : ὁ σκυτεὺς κάττυμα κεντῶν· ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ πιτύῳ ἐκέντησεν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ γόνατος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν καὶ ἔβαψεν ὡς δάκτυλον.³

¹ Compare the word μονοχίτων, now accepted to mean "with *only* the χιτῶν" and not "with only *one* χιτῶν."

² Harpocrat. s.v.

³ This passage is another proof, if one were needed, that shoemakers *sat* at work.

102) Pollux, 6. 64: παλίμπηγα δὲ οἱ κωμικοὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καττύματα, καὶ παλινδορίαν (ὀνομάζουσι).

103) Ar. *Vesp.* 1159-1160¹:

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τλαίην ὑποδήσασθαί ποτε
ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῇ καττύματα;

The rest of the foot-wear which we can identify falls under the head of genuine shoes, in the modern sense, — consisted, that is, of a sole and a definite and considerable upper.

The ἐμβάς was of this class (7, 14, 15, etc.). It was worn by men only (9, 10, 104).

104) Ar. *Ecc.* 506-509:

ἀλλ' ὥς τάχιστα πρίν τιν' ἀνθρωπον ἰδεῖν
ῥιπτεῖτε χλαίνας, ἐμβὰς ἐκποδὼν ἵτω,
χάλα συναπτοὺς ἡνίας Λακωνικάς,
βακτηρίας ἄφεσθε.

It was fastened by a thong (105, 106), ἀγκύλη, or ἱμάς, and was, as a rule, a rough, cheap shoe (95, 107, 108, 109), such as slaves wore in winter (15). In the *Wasps* it is contrasted with Λακωνικάι (108). But in the *Ecclesiastusae* the distinction completely breaks down, the same pair of shoes being called Λακωνικάι once, and twice ἐμβάδες (*vid.* 9, 10, and v. 633 *not there quoted*). Two explanations are here possible: (1) that there were two styles of Spartan shoes in vogue at Athens,² a cheaper and a finer kind; or (2) the view which seems more plausible, that Aristophanes here in the *Ecclesiastusae* uses ἐμβάς in its original *generic* sense.³ So Herodotus,⁴ speaking of the Babylonian dress, mentions their

ὑποδήματα ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι.

105) Alexis, *Achaïs. frag.* 31 (Kock, II, p. 309)⁵: ἔστι δὲ ἀγκύλη καὶ εἶδος τι ἄμματος. Ἄλεξις Ἀχαιίδι· ἀγκύλην τῆς ἐμβάδος οὐ καλῶς ἔσφιγγας λυθεῖσαν. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῇ λέξει.

¹ Of the Λακωνικάι. Here κάττυμα seems to be loosely used for shoe in general, by synecdoche.

² So Becker-Göll, *Char.* III, p. 278.

⁴ 1. 195.

³ *Vid. supra*, p. 73.

⁵ Bekker, *Anecdota*, 338. 8.

106) Menander, *Deisidaemon*, frag. 109 (Kock, III, p. 33)¹:

ἀγαθόν τί μοι γένοιτο, πολύτιμοι θεοί·
 ὑποδούμενος τὸν ἱμάντα γὰρ τῆς δεξιᾶς
 ἀπ' ἐρῆξ'. B. εἰκότως, ὦ φλήναφε·
 σαπρὸς γὰρ ἦν, σὺ δὲ μικρολόγος ἄρ' οὐ θέλων
 καινὰς πρίασθαι. . . .

107) Ar. *Plut.* 846:

τὰ δ' ἐμβάδια;
 καὶ ταῦτα συνεχιμάζετο.

108) Ar. *Vesp.* 1157-1158:

ἄγε νῦν ὑπολύου τὰς καταράτους ἐμβάδας
 τασδί δ' ἀνύσας ὑποδοῦ τι τὰς Λακωνικάς.

109) Isaeus, *De Hered. Dicaeog.* 11 (Or. 5): εἰς τοῦτο ὕβρεως καὶ
 μιαρίας ἀφίκετο. καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς ὀνειδίζει καὶ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ
 ὅτι ἐμβάδας καὶ τριβώνια φορεῖ, ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενός τι εἰ ἐμβάδας Κηφι-
 σόδωτος φορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικῶν ὅτι ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν τὰ ὄντα πένητα
 πεποιήκεν.

At any rate, whether we identify the Λακωνικαὶ and the ἐμβάδες, or not, they must have been very similar in shape and style. Like the ἐμβάδες, the Λακωνικαὶ were *men's* shoes (10, 104, 110, 111, 112, 113), and they were of the *sole-and-upper* type (114),² fastened like the ἐμβάδες with a strap or thong called ἡνία (*vid. supra*, 104). Pollux³ informs us that they were normally red in color, and the passage in the *Wasps*, above cited,⁴ leads us to infer that they were actual exports from Sparta, and not merely Spartan styles. In modern times our common lace-shoe is a fair representative of the ἐμβάς-type, as opposed to the slipper and top-boot, on the one hand, and the sandal, on the other.

¹ Clemens Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24.

² The mere fact that in the *Wasps* they are confounded with the ἐμβάδες shows that they were of the same style, — that is, ἐνδύματα of the foot, if we may so speak, and not mere ὑποδήματα.

³ 7. 88.

⁴ vv. 1157-1162. *Vid. supra*, 108, 103.

110) Ar. *Thesm.* 141-142 :

σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ὦ παῖ πότερον ὥς ἀνὴρ τρέφει;
καὶ ποῦ πέος; ποῦ χλαῖνα; ποῦ Λακωνικάι;

111) Ar. *Eccl.* 73-75 :

καὶ μὴν τά γ' ἄλλ' ὑμῖν ὁρῶ πεπραγμένα ·
Λακωνικὰς γὰρ ἔχετε καὶ βακτηρίας
καὶ θοιμάτια τάνδρεῖα, καθάπερ εἵπομεν.

112) Ar. *Eccl.* 268-271 :

ἄγε νυν ἀναστέλλεσθ' ἄνω τὰ χιτῶνια ·
ὑποδεῖσθε δ' ὥς τάχιστα τὰς Λακωνικάς,
ὥσπερ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐθεᾶσθ', ὅτ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.
μέλλοι βαδίζειν ἢ θύραζ' ἐκαστοτε, etc.

113) Ar. *Eccl.* 542-546 :

. . . αἱ δὲ δὴ Λακωνικάι
ᾤχοντο μετὰ σοῦ κατὰ τί χη' βακτηρία;
ἵνα θοιμάτιον σώσαιμι μεθυπεδησάμην
μιμουμένη σε καὶ κτυποῦσα τοῖν ποδοῖν
καὶ τοὺς λίθους παίουσα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.

114) Ar. *Vesp.* 1161-1162 :

ἐνθες ποτ' ὦ τῶν ἀπόβαιν' ἐρβώμένως
ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀνύσας. . . .

The βλαῦται were shoes, or, more exactly, *slippers* of rather finer sort (115), very probably white in color (116). They may sometimes have had fancy, turn-up toes, after the Oriental and mediaeval fashion.¹ They were such shoes as a guest at a banquet would wear (118, 115, 116), and were thus affected by those who made of life one uninterrupted revel of luxurious indulgence (117, and *probably* 119).

115) Ar. *Eg.* 888-889² :

οὐκ ἄλλ' ὅπερ πίνων ἀνὴρ πέπονθ' ὅτ' ἀν χεσεῖη
τοῖσιν τρόποις τοῖς σοῖσιν ὥσπερ βλαντίοισι χρῶμαι.

¹ Cf. the use of the word *σύρων* in 117.

² This passage is another proof that men removed their shoes at banquets. One would infer that they were placed beneath the couch, perhaps behind.

116) Hermippus, *Moer. frag.* 47 (Kock, I, p. 237)¹:

χλανίδες δ' οὔλαι καταβέβληνται,
 θώρακα δ' ἅπας ἐμπερονᾶται,
 κνημῖς δὲ περὶ σφυρὸν ἄρθροῦται,
 βλαύτης δ' οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἔρως λευκῆς
 ῥάβδον δ' ὄψει τὴν κοτταβικὴν
 ἐν τοῖς ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην,
 Μανῆς δ' οὐδὲν λατάγων αἶει,
 τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν πλάστιγγ' ἂν ἴδοις
 παρὰ τὸν στροφέα τῆς κτηπαίας
 ἐν τοῖσι κορήμασιν οὔσαν.

117) Anaxilas, *Lyrorhoeus, frag.* 18 (Kock, II, p. 268)²:

ξανθοῖς τε μύροις χρῶτα λιπαίνων,
 χλανίδας θ' ἔλκων, βλαύτας σύρων,
 βολβὸς τρώγων, τύρους κάπτων,
 φὰ κολάπτων, κήρυκας ἔχων,
 Χῖον πίνων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
 ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν
 Ἐφεσῆα γράμματα καλά.

118) Plato, *Sympos.* 174 A: ἔφη γάρ οἱ Σωκράτη ἐντυχεῖν λελο-
 μένον τε καὶ τὰς βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένον, ἃ ἐκείνος ὀλιγάκις ἐποίει· καὶ ἐρέ-
 σθαι αὐτὸν ὅποι ἴοι οὕτω καλὸς γεγενημένος. καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ δείπνον
 εἰς Ἀγάθωνος.

119) Lysippus, *Bacchae, frag.* 2 (Kock, I, p. 701)³: . . . καὶ
 Θετταλὶς δὲ ὑπόδημα μνηνὸν τοὺς εὐρέτας. μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ Λύσιππος
 ἐν Βάκχαις·

βλαύτη, κοθόρνῳ, Θετταλίδι.

The κρούπεζα, κρούπαλα were shoes with wooden soles, as Pollux⁴
 tells us. We have mention of them as Boeotian and rustic (120,
 121). They are called ἀμφίλινα once by Sophocles, — whatever that
 adjective may denote (121).

¹ Athen. 15, p. 668 A.

² Athen. 12, p. 548 C.

³ Pollux, 7. 89.

⁴ Id. 7. 87.

120) Cratinus, *frag.* 310 (Kock, I, 103)¹:

οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν σοβοιωτοί, κρουπεξοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν.

121) Soph. *Capt. frag.* 41 (Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 140): πατὴρ δὲ † χρυσδὺς ἀμφίλινα κρούπαλα.²

The κρηπίδες of leather seem to have been boots with high tops,—perhaps the “golf-stocking” boots so common on the monuments (122, 123):

122) Xen. *De Re Equestr.* 12. 10: κνήμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες ὑπέρχειν ἂν εἰκότως τῶν παραμηριδίων, ὀπλισθείη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰ ἐμβάται γένοιτο σκύτους ἐξ οἴουπερ αἱ κρηπίδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἅμα ὅπλον τε κνήμαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδήματ' ἂν εἴη.

123) Hippocrates, *De Artic.* 828 C: ὑποδημάτιον δὲ ποιέεσθαι μο-λύβδιον ἐξωθεν τῆς ἐπιδέσιος ἐπιδεδεμένον, οἷον αἱ Χῖαι κρηπίδες, ῥυθμὸν εἶχον.

So Aristocles, in Athenaeus,³ draws a distinction between κρηπίς and ὑπόδημα which can only mean that κρηπίς was a *boot* and not a *sandal*:

124) Athen. 14. 621 B: σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ Ἰλαρφῶδς καλούμενος . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρήτο, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπίσιν.

From the two following passages the κρηπίς would seem to be a fine, well-fitting, close-shaped boot such as a woman would wear (125, 126), but our evidence is too meagre to give us any satisfaction.

125) Theophrastus, *Char.* 2: καὶ συνωνόμενος ἐπὶ κρηπίδας τὸν πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος.

126) Plato Com., *Zeus Kakoum. frag.* 46. 6 (Kock, I, p. 612)⁴:

. . . Ἀγενῶς οὐκ ἐὼ
παῖζειν· τίθημι κοττάβεια σφῶν ἐγὼ
τασδί τε τὰς κρηπίδας ἃς αὕτη φορεῖ,
καὶ τὸν κότυλον τὸν σόν, etc.

¹ Schol. ad Pind. *Olymp.* 6. 152.

² As Nauck remarks, this is as yet an insoluble enigma.

³ 14. 621 B, and *vid. infra*, 124. Too much separate dependence must not be placed on this passage, as Aristocles's date is uncertain.

⁴ Athen. 15, p. 666 D.

Here, too, belong, without doubt, the Persian slippers, *εὐμάριδες* (127, 128), sometimes at least of crocus-color :

127) Eur. *Or.* 1370 :

Ἄργεϊον ξίφος ἐκ θανάτου πέφευγα
βαρβάροις εὐμάρισιν. . . .

128) Aesch. *Pers.* 660-666 :

βαλλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλλὴν
ἴθι, ἰκοῦ,
ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμ-
βον ὄχθου, κροκόβαπτον
ποδὸς εὐμαριν αἰέρων
βασιλείου τιάρας
φάλαρον πιφάυσκων.

And here, also, the *Ἀργεῖαι σχισταί* (129), with long opening at the front, — perhaps like the high boots which Pollux calls *ἐνδρομίδες* :

129) Eupolis, *Phil. frag.* 266 (Kock, I, p. 331)¹: . . . οὐ δεινὰ ταῦτα δὲ Ἀργείας φορεῖν σχιστὰς ἐνεργεῖν.

And here, finally, the tall *ἐμβάται*, Xenophon's cavalry boots of leather (122),² so common on the monuments, but mentioned only here in the literature of our period. One wonders what could have been the every-day name.

The *καρβάτιναι*, mentioned in the *Anabasis*,³ and alluded to by Aristotle (130), may have been, as Becker suggests,⁴ the commonest covering for rustic feet, but this is rather conjecture than judgment upon evidence. From the two passages before us I should infer that the *καρβατίνη* was of loose, baggy appearance (130), held together by straps (130, 37), and sometimes, probably usually, of untanned leather, and of home manufacture. The monuments bear out this view :

130) Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 2. 1. p. 499a. 29 : διὸ καὶ τὰς εἰς πόλεμον ἰούσας (καμήλους) ὑποδοῦσι καρβατίναις ὅταν ἀλγήσωσιν.

¹ *Vid.*, however, Kock's note on this disputed passage. It is cited by Ammon. *Differ. verb.* p. 133.

² *Vid.* also *infra*, 155.

³ 4. 5. 14. *Vid. supra*, 37.

⁴ Becker-Göll, *Char.* III, p. 280.

Of the *καρκίνου* (131), the *προσχίσματα* (132), and the *παλινδορία* (133, 102) we know little but the names, and can only guess at what they were. *παλινδορία* may, like *κάπνυμα*, have been a rough and heavy sandal (102); *πρόσχισμα* was perhaps one of those split-leather abominations, of thin, single-layer soles,¹ and the *καρκίνος*, a boot like the *ράδια*, with crab-like twists to its fastenings, but this is the barest conjecture.

131) Pherecrates, *frag.* 178 (Kock, I, p. 198)²: *καττύομαι τοὺς καρκίνους.*

132) Ar. *frag.* 842 (Kock, I, p. 582)³: *προσχίσματα· εἶδος ὑποδήματος Ἀριστοφάνης.*

133) Plato, *Syrphax*, *frag.* 164 (Kock, I, p. 643)⁴: *σὲ μὲν, ὦ μοχθηρέ, παλινδορίαν παίσας αὐτοῦ καταθήσω.*

The *κόθορνος* will serve as the transition from men's shoes to those of women. Of the same general type as the *κρηπίς*, it was properly, in Greece, at least, confined to the gentler sex (10, 134).

134) Ar. *Lys.* 656-657 :

*ἄρα γρυκτόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν; εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με
τῷδε τᾷψήκτῳ πατάξω ἔγω κοθόρνῳ τὴν γνάθον.*

Men who wore it were classed as effeminate and unmanly. It was thus the proper shoe for the festive Dionysus in the *Frogs*:

135) Ar. *Ran.* 45-47 :

*ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷός τ' εἶμ' ἀποσοβῆσαι γέλων
ὄρων λεοντῇν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην.
τίς ὁ νοῦς; τί κόθορνος καὶ ῥόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην
ποῖ γῆς ἀπεδήμεις;*

136) Ar. *Ran.* 556-557 :

*... σὺ μὲν οὖν με προσεδόκας,
ὅτι καὶ κοθόρνους εἶχες, ἂν γυνῶναι σ' ἔτι;*

¹ *Vid. infra*, pp. 90-91.

² Pollux, 7. 90.

³ Phot. p. 463. 21.

⁴ Hesych. *s.v.* *παλινδορία*. The expression is exactly equivalent to the modern "I'll tan your hide for you," "I'll make sole-leather of your back." On *παλινδορία*, cf. also 102, *supra*.

Even in Lydia, when Croesus would have the all-conquering Cyrus spare the people of his country, at the price of their manliness, he bids the monarch ordain them long *χιτῶνες*, and harps to play like women, and *κόθορνοι* to wear :

137) Herod. i. 155: ἄπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὄπλα ἀρῆϊα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλενε δὲ σφεας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, γυναικάς ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστῶσι.

That they were high boots is shown by the jolly tale of Alcmaeon, in Herodotus' sixth book.¹ That worthy, it will be remembered, was promised by King Croesus as much of his treasure "τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἔωντοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ." He dons a huge tunic with flowing *κόλπος*, and mighty *κόθορνοι*, and, coming to the treasure-house, falls on his face upon the heap and stuffs his breast and boots and mouth and hair with the shining wealth, so that "ἐξήμι ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγισ τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεω οἰκὼς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο." Upon which Ctoesus, with Oriental delight in a clever trick, loads him with as much again to bring with him to Greece.

The marked characteristic of the *κόθορνος* was that it had no *rights* and *lefts*, but, like the modern rubber-boot, misfitted either foot alike (138, 139):

138) Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3. 31: ὅθεν δῆπον καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται (ὁ Θηραμένης)· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ· ἀποβλέπει δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

139) Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3. 47²: ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πευρώμενον ἀρμόττειν.

We may well suppose that such a boot slipped easily on the foot, and this the passage in the *Ecclesiastusae*³ seems to show.

Another piece of information, that comes to us from the same play, is that the *κόθορνοι* were identical with the *Περσικαὶ* (9, 10).⁴

¹ Herod. 6. 125.

² Theramenes's defence.

³ *Vid.* 10, *supra*.

⁴ Becker's supposition, that *κόθορνος* is here used slangily and loosely of the *Περσικαὶ*, without implying any other resemblance than that of fitting either foot, seems unnecessary and unwarrantable. The Oriental origin and use of the

That the latter were for women's wear is clear, not only from the above passage (9), but from the *Lysistrata* (140), to say nothing of the *female flea*, who wears them in the *Clouds* (141):

140) Ar. *Lys.* 229 (= 230):

οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τῷ Περσικῷ.

141) Ar. *Nub.* 148-152:

. . . δεξιότατα
κηρὸν διατήξας εἶτα τὴν ψύλλαν λαβὼν
ἐνέβαψεν ἐς τὸν κηρὸν αὐτῆς τῷ πόδε,
κᾶτα ψυχέντος περιέφυσαν Περσικαί·
ταύτας ὑπολύσας ἀναμέτρει τὸ χωρίον.

We get an admirable picture of the Περσικαί from this last passage. Whether we can infer that they were, as a rule, *white* in color, is not certain.¹ One point we do get from the *Lysistrata* passage (140), and that is, that women, unlike their brethren, wore shoes in the house.²

The βαυκίδες, luxurious shoes (72), were of Ionian provenance, according to the Scholiast Aspasius, who quotes the word from Aristophanes's revised *Thesmophoriazusae*, but fails to cite the lines in which it occurs (142). They were, sometimes at least, worn by *hetaerae* (72), their shape admitting of insoles of cork to disguise defective stature:

142) Ar. *Thesm.* 2, frag. 342 (Kock, I, p. 482)³: βαυκὸν — τρυφερόν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀραρῶς ἐν Καμπυλίῳ

βαυκά, μαλακά, τερπνά, τρυφερά.

μετεννήχθαι δ' ἔοικεν τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν βαυκίδων, ὃ ἐστὶν εἶδος ὑποδημάτων Ἰωνικῶν, οἷς αἱ Ἰᾶδες χρῶνται, οὐ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις μέμνηται.

The διάβαθρον, a thin, light shoe of style unknown (72); the Θετταλός, of which we know nothing, save from the company it keeps in the fragment of Lysippus (119); the Σικυνώνια, women's shoes of

κόθορνος is a strong confirmation of this identification with the "Persian" boot, and the uses of the two are in no way contradictory.

¹ So, however, Poll. 7. 92.

² So the monuments.

³ Aspasius, *ad. Arist. Eth.* p. 58 A.

luxurious type (143); the *Σκυθικά*, quoted by Pollux¹ from Aristophanes; and the *περιβαρίδες* (144, 145), perhaps slippers, since *ἱμάντες* are not mentioned in connection with them, but associated with *hetaerae*, and once at least spoken of as cheap, servant's shoes (93); these complete the list of names of which we have any mention in extant works within our period. That many other names were in common use even in the fifth and fourth centuries, goes without saying. Herondas and Theocritus might have swelled our catalogue many times, but it has seemed best to confine ourselves rigidly to fifth and fourth century evidence.

143) Duris, ap. Athen. 4. 155 C: Πολυσπέρχοντά φησιν εἰ μεθυσθείη καίτοι πρεσβύτερον ὄντα ὀρχεῖσθαι, οὐδενὸς Μακεδόνων ὄντα δεύτερον οὔτε κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὔτε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ ἐνδύμενον αὐτὸν κροκωτὸν καὶ ὑποδύμενον Σικυνῶνια διατελεῖν ὀρχούμενον.

144) Ar. *Lys.* 42-48 and 53:

ΚΑΛ. τί δ' ἂν γυναικες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίμεθα
ἢ λαμπρόν, αἷ καθήμεθ' ἐξανθισμέναι
κροκωτὰ φοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι
καὶ κιμβερικ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας.
ΛΥΣ. ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κᾶσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ
τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαὶ περιβαρίδες
χῆ' ἔγχευσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτῶνια.
· · · · ·
· · · κτήσομαι περιβαρίδας.

145) Theopompus, *Sirens*, frag. 52 (Kock, I, p. 747)²: ὑποδοῦ λαβὼν (ἀνύσας τι) τὰς περιβαρίδας.

These shoes, such of them at least as had uppers, were all shaped over lasts (καλόποδες),³ made in rights and lefts, by the rule.⁴ The soles were in several thicknesses ordinarily.⁵ These layers of the sole were probably called *προσχίσματα*, although this is not absolutely certain (146, 147).⁶

¹ 7. 88.

² Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 45.

³ *Vid. supra*, 57.

⁴ Or the *κόθορνος* joke would lose all its force. *Vid.* 138, 139.

⁵ Cf., among other monuments, the so-called *Lemnian* Athena (Furtwängler, *Meisterw.* Pl. I-III), replicas of which are in most of the museums, — the Boston and the Fogg, among others.

⁶ Cf. with these passages the word *σχίλων* in 61, *supra*.

146) Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32: εἰ γὰρ πρόσχισμα καὶ κεφαλὴς καὶ χιτῶν δύναται γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποδήματα δυνατὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰ ὑποδήματα, καὶ πρόσχισμα καὶ κεφαλὴς καὶ χιτῶν.

147) Aristotle, *Probl.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ ἐκ τούτου ποιήσασα, πλὴν ὡς μέρους, οἷον ἡ σκυτική ὑπόδημα ἐκ προσχίσματος. ἐξ ἑκατέρου γὰρ γίνεται διττῶς ἢ συντιθεμένου ἢ φθειρομένου, and the layers were generally sewn together. This seems to have been the proper and original function of the *νευροῤῥάφος*.¹ The upper (χιτῶν?)² was then sewn to the finished sole. One layer of the *κάττυμα*, or sole, may sometimes have been of cork³ or the whole *κάττυμα* in all its layers may have been of wood, as Pollux tells us of the *Τυρρηνικά*,⁴ and we find in some samples still preserved to us.

The thongs, or thong, called variously *δεσμός*,⁵ *ἀγκύλη*,⁶ *ἡνία*,⁷ *ἱμάς*,⁸ on the symmetrical display of which much thought was expended by the nice in such matters,⁹ were the sole means of fastening the sandal or the shoe, *proprie dictum*, to the foot. We have mention of them with the *πέδιλα* (89), *σανδάλια* (91), *ῥάδια* (94), *ἐμβάδες* (105, 106), *Λακωνικά* (104), and *καρβάτιναι*.¹⁰ Boots, like the *κόθορνοι*, *ἐμβάται*, etc., and slippers, like the *βλαῦται*, etc., would have no need of straps.

Of the other parts of the shoe, the *γλῶττα* (148), and the *κεφαλὴς* (= *ζυγόν*?),¹¹ cannot be identified from sources at command. The *ζυγόν* has already been explained.¹²

148) Plato, *Zeus Kakoum. frag.* 51 (Kock, I, p. 614)¹³:

καὶ τοι φορεῖτε γλῶτταν ἐν ὑποδήμασιν,
στεφανοῦσθ' ὑπογλωττίσιν, ὅταν πίνητέ που,
κἂν καλλιερῇτε, γλῶτταν ἀγαθὴν πέμπετε.

¹ Cf. 61, *supra*.

⁷ *Vid. supra*, 104.

² *Vid.* 146, *supra*. But the interpretation of this word is uncertain. Cf. *edd. ad. loc.*

⁸ *Vid. supra*, 89, 91, 106.

⁸ *Vid.* 72, and cf. also Plato, *Polit.* 288 E.

⁹ Cf. 89, *supra*.

⁴ *Vid. supra*, p. 79.

¹⁰ Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14.

⁵ *Vid.* Plato, *Pol.* 288 E.

¹² *Supra*, p. 78.

⁶ *Vid. supra*, 105.

¹³ Athen. 15. 677 A.

¹¹ *Vid. supra*, 146. One is tempted to refer the term *γλῶττα* to the curious double fold, perhaps of metal, running down the front of some of the sandals on the monuments. The best instance of this, though a restoration, occurs in the Lateran Sophocles.

They who take pains to get, are at pains to keep. We have mention by Menander of a costly, gilded sandal-case:

149) Menander, *Misog. frag.* 333·(Kock, III, p. 97)¹: Μένανδρος ἐν Μισογύνῃ καὶ ἐπιχρύσους σανδαλοθήκας λέγει.

Xenophon gives us a pretty glimpse of a well-ordered house where shoes, big and little, fine and rude, and garments, "each after his kind" are arranged in neat rows to the hand:

150) Xen. *Oec.* 8. 19: ὥς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐπειδὴν ὑποδήματα ἐφεξῆς κέηται, κἂν ὅποια ἦ, καλὸν δὲ ἱμάτια κεχωρισμένα ἰδεῖν, κἂν ὅποια ἦ, καλὸν δὲ στρώματα, etc.

Shoes were cleansed and polished by means of a sponge (σπόγγος)² kept for that purpose, which did service instead of the more modern brushes.³ We have no mention of any dressing in use in our period, but it is natural to suppose that the μελαντήριον of later times⁴ was known at an earlier date as well. At any rate, then as now, the job was a disagreeable one, and, like that of cleaning a bicycle, was gladly relinquished to any one kind enough or paid enough to do it, though it was the man who shined his own shoes, whose shoes shone indeed.

151) Ar. *Vesp.* 600:

ἀλλὰ Θέωρος καίτουστίν ἀνὴρ Εὐφημίδου οὐδὲν ἐλάττων,
τὸν σφόγγον ἔχων ἐκ τῆς λεκάνης τὰμβάδι' ἡμῶν περικωνεῖ.

152) Athen. 8. 351 A⁵: ἀπαντήσας δέ τινι τῶν γνωρίμων (ὁ Στρατόνικος) ὥς εἶδεν ἐσπογγισμένα τὰ ὑποδήματα καλῶς συνηχθέσθῃ ὥς πράττοντι κακῶς, νομίζων οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐσπογγίσθαι καλῶς, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐσπόγγισεν.

Not merely, then, of the original leather hue, but white sometimes, and black sometimes, and sometimes red, were the Athenian shoes. Like a modern Oriental city, we must suppose that Athens and its streets presented a lively and vivid panorama of color.

¹ Pollux, 7. 87.

² *Vid.* 151, 152, and *cf. supra*, 11. The form σφόγγος also occurs.

³ As ladies still use sponges for this purpose.

⁴ Lucian, *Catapl.* 15.

⁵ As Stratonicus was of Alexander's time, this story comes within our period, though Athenaeus tells it.

Again, although ox-hide was the more usual material for the shoes, we have seen how the Thracians made *πέδιλα* of fawnskin (81), and fine shoes of white or of purple felt are mentioned by several writers (153, 154, 155).

153) Cratinus, *Malthak. frag.* 100 (Kock, I, p. 45)¹: οὐ μόνον δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτιθέμενος πῖλος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῖς ποσίν, ὡς δηλοῖ Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς·

λευκοὺς ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἔχων πῖλους.

154) Antiphanes, *Antaeus, frag.* 33 (Kock, II, p. 23)²:

ὦ τᾶν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὗτοσι
ὁ γέρων; B. ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός·
λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιδὸς χιτωνίσκος καλός,
πιλίδιον ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμος βακτηρία,
βαῖά τε πέζα· τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως
αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν δοκῶ.

155) Duris, *Hist. ap. Ath.* 12, p. 535 F³: Δημήτριος δὲ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὑπόδεσιν ἣν εἶχεν κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ πολλοῦ δαπνῆματος· ἣν γὰρ κατὰ μὲν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐργασίας σχεδὸν ἐμβάτης πύλημα λαμβάνων τῆς πολυτελεστάτης πορφύρας· τοῦτ' δὲ χρυσοῦ πολλὴν ἐνίφαινον ποικιλίαν ὀπίσω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνιέντες οἱ τεχνῖται.⁴ Kid and calf-skin boots must have been familiar, although we get no mention of them. Dog-skin was probably not used, and the kangaroo had still before him many years of unmolested and uncivilized existence.

Something in the line of real stockings appear to have been the foot-wear which Aeschylus, in his *Phrygians*,⁵ called *πέλλυντρα*, and Critias,⁵ *ποδεῖα*. But Pollux seems to waver in his mind as to whether they were really *πῖλοι*, "hose," or *ἀναξυρίδες*, "knickerbockers." As he doesn't quote his passages, we can be no wiser

¹ Pollux, 7. 171.

² Athen. 12, p. 544. Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀνταίῳ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τρυφερότητος διαλεγόμενός φησιν κτλ.

³ *Vid. supra*, 122.

⁴ These tales of Demetrius belong most naturally to the period 306–301 B.C., and so fall just within our limits. Although the display was extravagant, the passage shows the resources at command for producing fine shoes.

⁵ *Vid.* 156, 157, *infra*.

than our guide. Whatever they were, Crates, in his *Tolmae* (as the editors will have it), speaks of ποδεῖα τριμίτινα, *of drilling*, — perhaps a ghostly precursor of the modern over-all!

156) Pollux, 7. 91¹: αὐτὰ ποδεῖα Κριτίας καλεῖ εἴτε πέλους αὐτὰ οἶη-
τέον εἴτε περιειλήματα ποδῶν, ταῦτα πέλλυτρα καλεῖ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ Αἰσχύλος·

πέλλυτρ' ἔχουσιν ἐνθάδε ἐν ἀρβύλαις.

157) Pollux, 2. 196: ὁ δὲ κωμικὸς Πλάτων καὶ ποδάρια εἴρηκεν καὶ
ποδεῖα τοὺς περὶ τοῖς ποσὶ πέλους Κριτίας ἅπερ Αἰσχύλος πέλλυτρα καλεῖ.

158) Crates, *Tolmae*,² frag. 34 (Kock, I, p. 141): τὰ δὲ πέλλυτρα
καὶ εἶδος ὑποδήματος, ὥσπερ αὖτὰ ποδεῖα ταῦτ' ἦν ταῖς ἀναξυρίσιν, αὖ
σκελέας τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν. Κράτης ἐν <Τόλμαις>.³

καὶ δὴ ποδεῖα τριμίτινα.

Finally, as to the prices of shoes and the shoemaker's earnings. We can learn almost nothing, but what we do get is very interesting. We have Aeschines's words in the *Timarchus*,⁴ setting the toll which the slave-cobblers had to pay their master at two obols a day for the journeymen and three for the foreman. This must, of course, represent *minimum* earnings. Lysias tells us that about eight minas a year⁵ was a very excessive charge for the shoes and clothes and laundry and hair-cutting of two small boys and a girl.

159) Lysias, in *Diogit.* 20: καὶ εἰς τοῦτ' ἦλθεν ἀνασχυντίας, ὥστ'
οὐκ ἔχων ὅποι τρέψειε τὰ χρήματα, εἰς ὅσον μὲν δοῦν παιδίον καὶ ἀδελφῇ
πέντ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλογίζετο, εἰς ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ εἰς ἱμάτια καὶ εἰς
γναφεῖον καὶ εἰς κουρεῖον κατὰ μῆνα οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γεγραμ-
μένα, συλλήβδην δὲ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου⁶ πλεῖν ἢ τάλαντον ἀργυρίον.

Of course prices must have varied very much with quality of the shoes purchased, but Aristophanes tells us that eight δραχμαί, or about \$1.50, was considered so extravagant a charge for ὑποδήματα that

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* pp. 83, 259, who refers the fragment, following M. Schmidt, to the *Phineus*, and not the *Phrygiens*.

² Pollux, 7. 92.

³ The MSS. read 'Εορταῖς. Meineke emends.

⁴ Aesch. in *Timarch.* 97. *Vid. supra*; 20.

⁵ Roughly \$50 apiece per year.

⁶ Eight years. *Vid.* Section 29 of the *Diogiton*.

none but a brazen youth would dare to ask it of the silliest old woman.

160) Ar. *Plut.* 983 *sqq.*:

οὐ πολλά· καὶ γὰρ ἐκνομίως μ' ἡσχύνετο·
ἀλλ' ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἂν ᾔτησ' εἴκοσιν εἰς ἱμάτιον,
ὁκτὼ δ' ἂν εἰς ὑποδήματα, etc.

VI. INDEX VOCABVLORVM SVTORIORVM.¹

ἀγκύλη = THONG OF ἐμβάς.

Alex. *Ach.* ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* 338. 8 (Kock, II, 309. 31).

ἀκάττυτος = UNCOBBLED.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31.

ἀνάρβυλος = WITHOUT SHOES, UNSHOD.

Eur. *Meleag.* ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* 530 N).²

ἀνυποδετεῖν = TO GO UNSHOD, TO BE BAREFOOT.

Arist. ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* p. 1486b. 22).

ἀνυπόδετος = UNSHOD, BAREFOOT.

Arist. ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* p. 1486b. 22).

ἀνυποδησία = THE STATE OF BEING BAREFOOT.

Xen. *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3.

ἀνυπόδητος = UNSHOD, BAREFOOT.

Xen. *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3; *Mem.* 1. 6. 2; Ar. *Nub.* 103; Plato, *Phaedr.* 229 A; *Sympos.* 220 B; Arist. *De Part. Anim.* 4. 10. p. 687a. 28; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 7. 13; Plut. *Phoc.* 4.

ἀπλαῖ = SANDALS, SINGLE-SOLED (?).

Strattis, *Lemn.* ap. Harpocr. p. 265 (Kock, I, 718. 24); Dem. *in Con.* (Or. 54) 34.

ἀρβύλη = TRAGIC WORD FOR SHOE.

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 D; Aesch. *Ag.* 935; *Phin.* ap. Poll. 7. 91 (*frag.* 259 N); Eur. *Bacch.* 638; 1134; *Elect.* 532; *Herc. Fur.* 1304; *Hipp.* 1189; *Or.* 140; 1470.

Ἀργεῖαι = SHOES OF UNKNOWN TYPE (= σχισταῖ [?]).

Eupol. *Phil.* ap. Ammon. *Diff. Verb* (Kock, I, 331. 266).

ἀρνακίς = SHEEPSKIN LEGGING.

Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B.

¹ This Index is intended to be fairly complete for the authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It is intended to embrace all the characteristic and technical terms relating to shoemaking, tanning, and the shoe, although there may be some few omissions.

² References to Nauck are to the numbering of his *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Ed. 2. 1889.

ἀσκερίσκα = HALF-SHOES, FOR WINTER WEAR (?).

Hippon. *frag.* 22 Hiller (Bergk. 9).

αὐτοσχεδῖς = SANDAL (= ἀπλαῖ [?]).

Hermipp. *Demot.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 229. 18).

βαυκίς = WOMAN'S SHOE.

Ar. *Thesm.* II, ap. Aspas. ad Arist. *Eth.* p. 58 A (Kock, I, 482. 342);

Alexis, *Isost.* ap. Ath. 13. 568 A (Kock, II, 329. 98. 7).

βλαύτη = FINE, WHITE DRESS-SHOE FOR MEN.

Plato, *Sympos.* 174 A; Hermipp. *Moer.* ap. Ath. 15. 668 A (Kock, I, 237. 47); Lysipp. *Bacch.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 701. 2); Anaxil. *Lyrop.* ap. Ath. 12. 548 C (Kock, II, 268. 18).

βλαύτιον = *dim. of foregoing.*

Ar. *Eq.* 889.

βύρσα = OX-HIDE, USUALLY TANNED.

Xen. *Apol. Socr.* 29; Ar. *Eq.* 892; *Pax.* 753; *Vesp.* 38.

βυρσεῖον = TANNERY.

Schol. ad Ar. *Ach.* 724.

βυρσοδεψεῖν = TO TAN HIDES.

Ar. *Plut.* 167.

βυρσοδέψης = TANNER.

Ar. *Eq.* 44; *Nub.* 581; Plato, *Sympos.* 221 E.

βυρσοδενκικός = PERTAINING TO TANNERS OR TANNING.

Hipp. *De Morb. Mul.* 1, p. 628. 22; Theophr. *C. P.* 3. 9. 3.

βυρσοποιός = TANNER.

Dinarch. ap. Poll. 7. 160.

βυρσοπώλης = LEATHER-MERCHANT, TANNER.

Ar. *Eq.* 136; 139; 740; 852; *Pax.* 270; 647.

γλώττα = PART OF A SHOE.

Plato, *Com. Zeus Kak.* ap. Ath. 15. 677 A (Kock, I, 614. 51).

δέρμα = SKIN OR HIDE OF ANY ANIMAL, UNTANNED.

Ar. *Eq.* 316; Plato, *Polit.* 288 E; *Rep.* 2. 370 E; Theophr. *H. P.* 3. 8. 6; 3. 9. 1; 3. 14. 3; 3. 18. 5.

δεσμός = SHOE-STRING, STRAP.

Plato, *Polit.* 288 E.

διάβαθρον = LIGHT SHOE OR SANDAL FOR WOMEN.

Alexis, *Isost.* ap. Ath. 13. 568 A (Kock, II, 329. 98. 8).

διαπατταλεύειν = TO PEG OUT, LIKE A HIDE, TO DRY.

Ar. *Eq.* 371.

ἐγκαττύειν = TO STITCH IN, OF SOLES.

Alexis, *Isost. l.c.*

ἐμβάδιον = *following, q.v.*

Ar. *Vesp.* 600; *Plut.* 846; 941.

ἐμβάς = ROUGH SHOE, IN COMMON USE FOR MEN.

Herod. 1. 195; Ar. *Eq.* 321; 869; 870; 875; *Nub.* 719; 859; *Vesp.*

103; 104; 275; 447; 1157; *Eccl.* 47; 314; 342; 507; 633; 850; *Plut.* 759; Theopomp. ap. Schol. Plat. 330 Bekk. (Kock, I, 748. 57); Alexis, *Ach.* ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* 339. 8 (Kock, II, 309. 31); Eubul. *Dolon.* ap. Ath. 3. 100 A (Kock, II, 175. 30); Menand. *Deisid.* ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24 (Kock, III, 33. 109); Isaeus, *De Dic. Hered.* 11.

ἐμβάτης = HIGH HUNTING- AND RIDING-BOOT.

Xen. *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; Duris, *Hist.* ap. Ath. 12. 535 F.

ἐπιρράπτειν = TO STITCH TO, OR SEW TOGETHER; MEND.

Theophr. *Char.* 16.

εὔμαρις = BARBARIAN (PERSIAN) SLIPPER.

Aesch. *Pers.* 664; Eur. *Or.* 1370.

ζεύγος = WORD FOR PAIR, OF SHOES.

Ar. *Eq.* 872.

ζυγόν = TOE-STRAP, OR RUDIMENTARY UPPER, OF SANDAL.

Ar. *Lys.* 417; Ephipp. *Naufrag.* ap. Ath. 11. 509 C (Kock, II, 257. 14).

ῆλος = SHOE-NAIL.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31.

ῆνία = SHOE-STRING, OR THONG OF *Λακωνικά*.

Ar. *Eccl.* 508.

Θετταλῖς = AN UNCERTAIN STYLE OF SHOE.

Lysipp. *Bacch.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 701. 2).

θρανεύεσθαι = TO STRETCH OUT TO DRY, AS A TANNER STRETCHES HIDES.

Ar. *Eq.* 369.

ἰμάς = SHOE-STRING, OR SANDAL-STRAP.

Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14; Ephipp. *Naufrag. l.c.*; Menand. *Deisid.* ap. Clem.

Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24 (Kock, III, 33. 109).

καλόπους = SHOEMAKER'S LAST.

Plato, *Sympos.* 191 A.

καρβατίνη = RUDE SHOE, OF UNTANNED LEATHER (?).

Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14; Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 2. 1. p. 499a. 29.

καρκίνος = UNKNOWN KIND OF SANDAL.

Pherecr. ap. Poll. 7. 90 (Kock, I, 198. 178).

καττύνειν = TO MEND, REPAIR, RESOLE, COBBLE SHOES.

Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 B; Pherecr. ap. Poll. 7. 90 (Kock, I, 198. 178);

Theophr. *Char.* 22.

κάττυμα = SOLE OF SHOE; A ROUGH SHOE.

Hipp. *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. 1153 D; Ar. *Ach.* 301; *Eq.* 315; 869; *Vesp.*

1160; Poll. 6. 164; 7. 92.

κεντεῖν = TO PIERCE WITH THE AWL.

Hipp. *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. 1153 D.

κεφαλῖς = UNKNOWN PART OF SHOE.

Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32 (*bis*).

κόθορνος = FINE HIGH BOOT, FITTING EITHER FOOT.

Herod. 1. 155; 6. 125 (*ter.*); Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 31; 2. 3. 47; Ar. *Lys.*

657; *Ran.* 47; 557; *Ecc.* 319; Lysipp. *Bacch.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 701. 2).

κονίπους = FINE SHOE FOR MEN (LIKE CHINESE CLOG [?]).

Ar. *Ecc.* 848.

κρηπιδουργός = SHOEMAKER, MAKER OF *κρηπίς*.

Dinarch. ap. Poll. 7. 183.

κρηπίς = HIGH BOOT (?) WORN BY BOTH SEXES.

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 C; Xen. *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; Aristocles ap. Ath.

14. 621 B; Theophr. *Char.* 2; Plato, Com. *Zeus Kak.* ap. Ath. 15. 666 D (Kock, I, 612. 46. 6).

κρούπαλον = SANDAL (OF WOOD [?]).

Soph. *Capt. frag.* 41 N.

κρουπεξοφόρος = WEARING THE *κρούπεζον* (= *supra*).

Cratin. ap. Schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* 6. 152 (Kock, I, 103. 310).

Λακωνικά = MEN'S SHOES, LIKE *ἐμβάδες*, BUT FINER.

Ar. *Vesp.* 1158; 1162; *Thesm.* 142; *Ecc.* 74; 269; 346; 508; 542.

λεαίνειν = TO SMOOTH THE WRINKLES FROM SHOE.

Plato, *Sympos.* 191 A.

μάσ(θ)λης = *Τυρρηνικόν*, *q.v.*

Sappho, ap. Poll. 7. 93 (*frag.* 17. Hiller, 19. Bergk).

νευροῤῥαφεῖν = TO STITCH SOLES; TO STITCH.

Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5; Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 B.

νευροῤῥάφος = STITCHER OF SOLES, SHOEMAKER.

Ar. *Eg.* 739; Plato, *Rep.* 4. 421 A.

ὄπιας, ὄπιαρ, ὀπήτιον = SHOEMAKER'S AWL.

Nicochares, ap. Poll. 10. 141 (Kock, I, 772).

παλιμπηγα = COBBLED SHOES.

Com. anon. ap. Poll. 6. 164.

παλιμπηξίς = PATCHING OR COBBLING OF SHOES.

Theophr. *Char.* 22.

παλινδορία = COBBLED OR ROUGH SHOE.

Com. anon. ap. Poll. *l.c.*; Plato, Com. *Syrphax.* ap. Hesych. *s.v.* (Kock, I, 643. 164).

παραστορεννύναι = TO STRETCH FLAT, AS OF HIDES.

Ar. *Eg.* 481.

παρατἄλλειν = TO DEPILATE, AS A TANNER DEPILATES HIDES.

Ar. *Eg.* 373.

πέδιλον = SANDAL, WITH *ζυγόν*.

Herod. 7. 67; 7. 75; Pind. *Ol.* 3. 5; 6. 8; *Pyth.* 4. 95; Eur. *Elect.* 460; *frag.* ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4. 26. 174 (*frag.* 911 N); *frag.* ap. Macrob. 5. 18. 19 (*frag.* 530 N); Ar. *Av.* 973; 974; *Thesm.* 1099; Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 11. p. 1412a. 31.

πέλλυτρα = LEG-WRAPPINGS, STOCKINGS, OR BREECHES.

Aesch. *Phin.* ap. Poll. 2. 196; 7. 91; 7. 92 (*frag.* 259 N).

περιβαρίδες = CHEAP SHOES OR SLIPPERS, FOR WOMEN.

Ar. *Lys.* 45; 47; 53; Cephisod. *Troph.* ap. Poll. 7. 87 (Kock, I, 801. 4); Theopomp. *Sirens.* ap. Schol. ad Ar. *Lys.* 45 (Kock, I, 747. 52).

Περσικαί = WOMEN'S HIGH BOOTS (WHITE [?]).

Ar. *Eccl.* 319; *Nub.* 151; *Lys.* 229 (= 230).

πηλοπατίς = HIGH, ROUGH BOOT.

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 D.

πίλημα = FELT.

Duris, *Hist.* ap. Ath. 12. 535 F.

πίλιδιον = *dim. of foregoing*: A FINE FELT SHOE.

Antiph. *Antaeus.* ap. Ath. 12. 545 (Kock, II, 23. 33).

πίλοι = LEGGINGS, OR A KIND OF FELT SHOE.

Plato, *Sympos.* 220 B; Cratin. *Malthak.* ap. Poll. 7. 171 (Kock, I, 45. 100); Poll. 2. 196; 7. 91.

πίναξ = SHOEMAKER'S STROP.

Theophr. *H. P.* 5. 5. 1.

πίσυγος = POETIC WORD FOR SHOEMAKER.

Sappho, ap. Hephaestion, p. 42. 1 (*frag.* 98. Bergk); Com. anon. ap. Poll. 7. 82.

ποδάρια = *following, q.v.*

Plato, Com. ap. Poll. 2. 196.

ποδεῖα = LEGGINGS, STOCKINGS, OR BREECHES = *πέλλυτρα*.

Critias, ap. Poll. 2. 196; 7. 91; Crates, *Tolmae* ap. Poll. 7. 92 (Kock, I, 141. 34).

πρόσχισμα = UNKNOWN KIND OF SHOE.

Ar. *frag.* ap. Phot. p. 463. 21 (Kock, I, 582. 842).

πρόσχισμα = PART OF A SHOE, PROBABLY A LAYER OF SOLE.

Arist. *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392a. 32; *Problem.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4.

ῥάδια = SANDALS, WITH LONG THONG WOUND ABOUT LEG.

Plato, Com. ap. Poll. 7. 94 (Kock, I, 665. 251).

ῥάπτειν = TO SEW, TO STITCH.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21; Ar. *Plut.* 513; Com. anon. ap. Poll. 7. 82.

σανδάλιον = SANDAL WITH ζυγόν = *πέδιλον*.

Herod. 2. 91; Cratin. *Nomoi* ap. Poll. 7. 68 (Kock, I, 54. 131); Theopomp. *Pamph.* ap. Poll. 10. 49 (Kock, I, 745. 44); Cephisod. *Troph.* ap. Poll. 7. 87 (Kock, I, 801. 4); Antiphanes, *Plousioi* ap. Ath. 8. p. 342 E (Kock, II, 89. 190).

σανδαλίσκος = *foregoing, q.v.*

Ar. *Ran.* 405; Hipp. *frag.* 22. Hiller (Bergk. 9).

σανδαλοθήκη = SANDAL-BOX.

Menand. *Misog.* ap. Poll. 7. 87 (Kock, III, 97. 333).

σάνδαλον = *σανδάλιον, q.v.*

Crates, *Ther.* ap. Ath. 6. 268 A (Kock, I, 134. 15); Sappho, ap. Hephaestion, p. 42. 1 (*frag.* 98. Bergk); Eumelus, ap. Paus. 4. 33. 2; Eupolis, ap. Poll. 7. 86 (Kock, I, 338. 295).

Σικυώνια = LUXURIOUS SHOES FOR WOMEN.

Duris, *Hist.* ap. Ath. 4. 155 C.

σκυλοδεψείν = TO TAN HIDES.

Ar. *Plut.* 514.

σκυλοδέψης = TANNER.

Ar. *Av.* 490, *Eccl.* 420.

σκυλοδέψος = TANNER.

Dem. in *Aristog.* I. 38 (Or. 25).

σκυτεῖον = COBBLER'S SHOP, SHOE-SHOP.

Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21.

σκυτεύειν = TO WORK LEATHER, TO COBBLE.

Xen. *Mem.* 4. 2. 22.

σκυτεύς = SHOEMAKER, COBBLER.

Hipp. *De Morb. Vulg.* 5. 1153 D; Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 37; 4. 4. 5; Plato, *Gorg.* 491 A; *Rep.* 10. 601 C; Ar. *Av.* 491; Teles, ap. Stob. *Flor.* 95. 21; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1. 6. p. 1097b. 29; *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23; *Pol.* 2. 1. p. 1261a. 36; *De Soph. Elench.* 177b. 14; *De Interpr.* 20b. 35.

σκύτευσις = SCIENCE OF SHOEMAKING.

Ar. *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23.

σκυτικός = PERTAINING TO SHOES OR SHOEMAKING.

De Artic. 820 C; D; Plato, *Alcib.* I. 128 C; E; *Theaet.* 146 D; 147 B; *Charm.* 174 C; *Rep.* 2. 374 B; 5. 456 D; Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23; *Problem.* 30. 8. p. 956b. 4.

σκυτοδεψείν = TO TAN HIDES, TO DRESS LEATHER.

Pollux, 7. 81.

σκυτοδέψης = TANNER.

Theophr. *Char.* 16; *H. P.* 3. 18. 5.

σκυτοδεψικός = PERTAINING TO TANNING OR TANNERS.

Theophr. *C. P.* 3. 17. 5 (*bis*); 5. 15. 2.

σκυτόδεψος = TANNER.

Plato, *Gorg.* 517 E.

σκῦτος = HIDE, OR SKIN.

Xen. *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; Ar. *Eg.* 868; Plato, *Charm.* 173 D; *Sympos.* 191 A; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1. 11. p. 1101a. 4; *Pol.* 4. 4. p. 1291a. 19.

σκυτοτομέιν = TO CUT LEATHER, BE A SHOEMAKER.

Ar. *Plut.* 162; 514; Plato, *Alcib.* I. 129 D; *Charm.* 161 E; 163 B; *Hipp. Min.* 368 C; *Rep.* 4. 443 C; 5. 454 C; Arist. *Pol.* 2. 11. p. 1273b. 12.

σκυτοτομέιον = SHOEMAKER'S SHOP.

Lysias, *Or.* 24. 20.

σκυτοτομία = ART OF SHOEMAKING.

Plato, *Rep.* 3. 397 E; 10. 601 A; B.

σκυτοτομικός = PERTAINING TO SHOEMAKING.

Ar. *Eccl.* 432; Plato, *Theaet.* 146 C; D; *Polit.* 180 C; 288 E; *Rep.* 1. 333 A; 4. 443 C; Aesch. in *Tim.* 97; Arist. *De Soph. El.* 32. p. 184a. 4; *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219a. 23.

σκυτοτόμος = SHOEMAKER.

Xen. *Hell.* 3. 4. 17; *Ages.* 1. 26; *Cyrop.* 6. 2. 37; Ar. *Eq.* 740; *Lys.* 414; 416; *Eccl.* 385; Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 C; D; *Theaet.* 180 D; *Sympos.* 191 A; 221 E; *Protag.* 319 D; 324 C; *Rep.* 2. 370 D; E; 3. 397 E; 4. 434 A; 443 C; 5. 456 D; 466 B; 10. 601 A; C; *Gorg.* 447 D; 490 D; 491 A; 517 E; Arist. *Pol.* 4. 4. 1295a. 13; *Eth. Nic.* 5. 8. p. 1133a. 5; 19; 24; 32; 33; 9. 16. p. 1163b. 34; *Eth. Eud.* 3. 10. 1243b. 31; *Pol.* 2. 1. 1261a. 36; Theophr. *H. P.* 5. 5. 1; Ameips. *Conn.* ap. Diog. Laert. 2. 28 (Kock, I, 672. 9).

σμιλεύματα = LEATHER-FINDINGS.

Ar. *Ran.* 819.

σμίλη = SHOEMAKER'S STRAIGHT-EDGE CUTTING-KNIFE.

Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 C.

σπογγίζειν = TO CLEAN, OR POLISH, OF SHOES.

Stratonic. ap. Ath. 8. 351 A.

σπόγγος = SPONGE, TO POLISH SHOES.

Crates, *Ther.* ap. Ath. 6. 268 A (Kock, I, 134. 15).

σφόγγος = *foregoing*.

Ar. *Vesp.* 600.

σχιζειν = TO CUT OUT SOLES (?).

Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5.

σχισταί = UNKNOWN SHOES (= 'Ἀργεῖαι [?]).

Eupol. *Phil.* (Kock, I, 331. 266).

τομεύς = SHOEMAKER'S HALF-MOON CUTTER.

Plato, *Alcib. I.* 129 C.

Τυρρηνικόν = SANDAL WITH RECTANGULAR SOLE OF WOOD.

Poll. 7. 86; 92 (Cratin. *Nom.* Kock, I, 54. 131).

ὑποδίσθαι = TO PUT ON SHOES.

Herod. 1. 155; Thuc. 3. 22; Xen. *De Rep. Lac.* 2. 3; Ar. *Eccl.* 269; Plato, *Charm.* 174 C; *Sympos.* 174 A; 220 B; *Rep.* 2. 372 A; *Gorg.* 490 D; Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 2. 1. p. 499a. 29; *De Part. Anim.* 4. 10. p. 687a. 28; *frag.* p. 1486b. 22; Duris, ap. Ath. 4. 155 C; Menand. *Deisid.* ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. 4. 24 (Kock, III, 33. 109).

ὑπόδημα = SHOE, IN GENERAL.

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 C; D; Herod. 1. 195; Xen. *Anab.* 4. 5. 14; *Cyrop.* 8. 1. 41; 8. 2. 5; *Rep. Lac.* 2. 3; *De Re Equest.* 12. 10; *Mem.* 1. 6. 6; Xen. *Oec.* 8. 19; 9. 6; 10. 2; 13. 10; Lysias, in *Diog.* 20; Ar. *Thesm.* 262; *Plut.* 985; 1012; *frag.* ap. Suidas (Kock, I, 593. 914); Strattis, *Lemn.* ap. Harpocr. p. 265 (Kock, I, 718. 24); Hermipp. *Demot.* ap. Poll. 7. 89 (Kock, I, 229. 18); Plato, Com. *Zeus Kak.* ap. Ath. 15. p. 677 A (Kock, I, 614. 51); Plato, *Phaed.* 64 D; *Meno.* 91 D; E; *Theaet.* 146 D; 147 B; *Legg.* 12. 942 E; *Charm.* 161 E; *Hipp. Maj.* 294 A; *Hipp. Min.* 368 C; *Alcib. I.* 128 A; B; C; E; *Rep.* 1. 333 A; 2. 372 A; *Gorg.* 447 D; 490 D; Arist. *De Soph. El.* 32. p. 184a. 4; *De Anim. Gen.* 1. 18. p.

723*b*. 31; *Probl.* 30. 8. p. 956*b*. 4; *Eth. Nic.* 1. 11. p. 1101*a*. 4; 5. 8. p. 1133*a*. 19; 24; *b*. 5; 9. 16. p. 1163*b*. 34; *Eth. Eud.* 2. 1. p. 1219*a*. 23; *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392*a*. 32 (*bis*); *Pol.* 1. 9. p. 1257*a*. 4; Theophr. *Char.* 2; 4; Dicaearch. *Descr. Graec.* 19 (Müller, *Hist. Minor.* 1. p. 103); Aristocles, ap. Ath. 14. 621 B; Teles ap. Stob. *Flor.* 97. 31; Poll. 7. 82.

ὑποδημάτιον = *dim. of foregoing, q.v.*

Hipp. *De Artic.* 828 C.

φέλλος = CORK, CORK-SOLE.

Alexis, *Isost.* ap. Ath. 13. p. 568 A (Kock, II, 329. 98. 7).

χιτών = UPPER OF A SHOE (?).

Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 2. 5; Ar. *Rhet.* 2. 19. p. 1392*a*. 32.